cleared space or in the immediate neighborhood where the pair would set up housekeeping. As his other girls married this process was repeated. When the children grew up the girls would continue to occupy the ancestral dwellings, or others erected for them in the neighborhood, while the boys would marry elsewhere. A man might erect and pay for a house and call it "my house," but it was to all intents and purposes the property of his wife. "My house" was a term applied by the Chickasaw to his clan as well as to his habitation.[aa] By a Creek male the word which has been translated into English as "home" (hûti) was not bestowed upon the house in which he and his wife lived, even though he might have built it himself, but on the houses in which lived the women of his clan. A woman's hûti, or "home," was indeed her home in our understanding of the term, except that the houses occupied by other women of the same clan were also her homes, but a man's hûti was not usually where he spent most of his adult life, but the home of his mother and the other women of his clan. In case a stranger visited the town and made known to what clan he belonged it was the duty of a man married into that clan to invite him to his house. In this case, although neither he nor his wife had set eyes on the man before, he would say to him "Come to your home (hûti)." This duty of hospitality toward a fellow-clansman often brought men outside of the family proper under the same roof, whether they were welcome or not. Sometimes an old man whose children were grown up, or who for any reason was alone in the world, would travel about from one to another of the houses of his female kin. He would say, "Well, I am going to my home," and make for the house of someone who had never seen him before. In later times this struck the young people as very presumptuous, but it was the old law. In the days before there were hotels, restaurants, old peoples' homes, insurance, etc., it was a very convenient device. It not only served to provide for the old, infirm, and indigent, but enabled the adventurous to travel and see more of the world than would otherwise be possible.

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The best early account of the arrangement of a Creek village and its dwellings, including also the position of the ceremonial grounds with reference to them, is given by Bartram, and I herewith append it along with the sketch accompanying (fig. 1). He says:

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"The general position of the Chunk-Yard and Public Buildings of the Creeks, in respect to the dwellings of the Indians themselves, is shown in the following engraved plan:

"*A* is the Rotunda; *B*, the Public Square; *C*, the grand area or Chunky-Yard. The habitations of the people are placed with considerable regularity in streets or ranges, as indicated in the plan.

[aa] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 17.

342 "The dwellings of the Upper Creeks [i. e., the Creeks proper, exclusive of the Seminole] consist of little squares, or rather of four dwelling-houses inclosing a square area, exactly on the plan of the Public Square. Every family, however, has not four of these houses; some have but three, others not more than two, and some but one, according to the circumstances of the individual, or the number of his family. Those who have four buildings have a particular use for each building. One serves as a cook room and winter lodging-house, another as a summer lodging-house and hall for receiving visitors, and a third for a granary or provision house, etc. The last is commonly two stories high, and divided into two apartments, transversely, the lower story of one end being a potato house, for keeping such other roots and fruits as require to be kept close, or defended from cold in winter. The chamber over it is the *council*. At the other end of this building, both upper and lower stories are open on their sides; the lower story serves for a shed for their saddles, pack-saddles, and gears, and other lumber; the loft over it is a very spacious, airy, pleasant pavilion, where the chief of the family reposes in the hot seasons, and receives his guests, etc. The fourth house (which completes the square) is a skin or ware-house, if the proprietor is a wealthy man, and engaged in trade or traffic, where he keeps his deer-skins, furs, merchandise, etc., and treats his customers. Smaller

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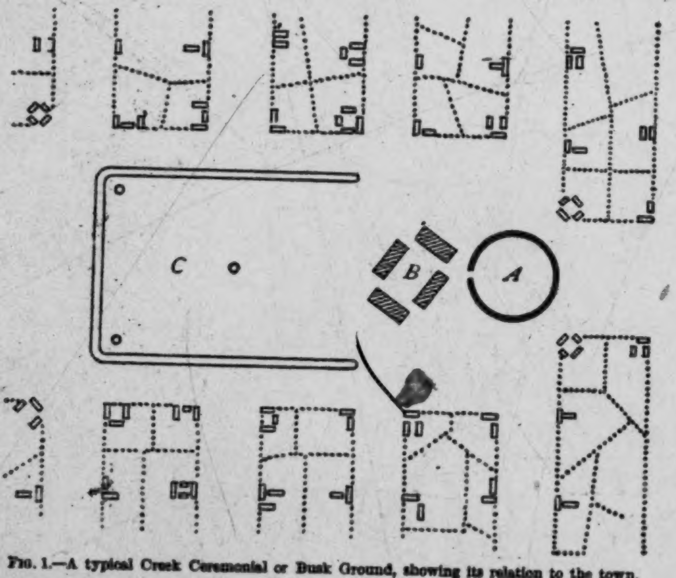

FIG. 1.—A typical Creek Ceremonial or Busk Ground, showing its relation to the town. (After Bartram.)

342 or less wealthy families make one, two, or three houses serve all their purposes as well as they can.

344● 361 621 "The Lower Creeks or Seminoles are not so regular or ingenious in their building, either public or private. They have neither the Chunky-Yard nor Rotunda, and the Public Square is an imperfect one, having but two or three houses at furthest. Indeed they do not require it; as their towns are small, and consequently their councils just sufficient for the government or regulation of the town or little tribe: for in all great and public matters they are influenced by the Nation, or Upper Creeks.

342 "Their private habitations consist generally of two buildings: one a large oblong house, which serves for a cook room, eating-house, and lodging-rooms, in three apartments under one roof; the other not quite so large, which is situated eight or ten yards distant, one end opposite the principal house. This is two stories high, of the same construction, and serving the same purpose with the granary or provision house of the Upper Creeks."[64]

[177] Each of these groups of buildings was evidently occupied by one family, and we must suppose the houses of daughters—when they had establishments of their own, which was not always the case—were those adjoining in the same "block" or district. The houses of the more elaborate pattern have long been out of use and forgotten, with the removal of the Indians to Oklahoma (pl. 13, *c*). A corncrib of modest dimensions may still be found near some of the houses of the old type, and it is usually on the cleared space about the house. "The cookroom and winter lodging house" was the equivalent of the "hot house" of other writers, though the ancient form had perhaps been considerably altered. The ground plan of this house is usually described as roughly circular, but Romans, in comparing the dwellings of the Creeks with those of the Chickasaw and Choctaw, says: "They live nearly in the same kind of habitations as the two other nations already mentioned, except that their hot houses are not circular but oblong squares."[65] In ancient times a public and a private house of this character were shared by both Creeks and Cherokee, but in later years they were to some extent given up by the Creeks, who did not feel the need of them so keenly in their comparatively warm climate, while the Cherokee held to them much longer.

[351 784] Among the Alabama the yard (tă'ăle), that anciently surrounded every house, was roughly square but was broader in front of and behind the house than at the sides. The yard was not fenced in primitive times but was sedulously cleared of grass by means of hoes. Otherwise it was thought that sickness was likely to attack the

household.

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[64] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, pp. 54-56.

[65] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Florida, p. 96.

342 household. Sometimes the house had a porch in front, as is usually
the case at the present day. The corncrib was in one part of the
yard, it did not matter which, and, as in the case of the Creeks,
houses were also put up there for married daughters of the house
[592 owner. His sons went elsewhere to live with their wives. When the
husband of one of these daughters killed a deer he would send some of
606] the meat to his father-in-law, but the several families did not cook
at one fire or live in any sort of communism.

SEATING IN THE CEREMONIAL GROUNDS

171 When we consult the narratives of the De Soto expedition we find
that they speak as if it were usual to find artificial mounds in the
361 center of Indian settlements, the mounds sometimes bearing build-
ings. Garcilasso has the following to say regarding these:
342 "The town and the house of the cacique Ossachile were like those of
•344 all the other caciques of Florida. Therefore, without making a
particular description of this place and this house, it seems proper to
622 give only a general idea of all the capitals and all the houses of the chiefs of the country. I will say then that the Indians endeavor to place their towns upon elevated places. But because, in Florida, they rarely meet this sort of place where they can find the necessary conveniences to build, they raise themselves eminences in this manner. They choose a place where they bring a quantity of earth which they elevate into a kind of platform, two or three pikes high; the top of which is capable of containing ten or twelve or fifteen or twenty houses to lodge the cacique with his family and all his retinue. They then trace, at the bottom of this elevation, a square place conformable to the extent of the village which they would make; and around this place the most important persons build their dwellings. The common people lodge in the same manner; and thus they all environ the house of their chief. In order to ascend to it they draw, in a straight line, streets from top to bottom; each one fifteen or twenty feet wide, and unite them to each other with large posts, which enter very deep into the earth and which serve for walls to these streets. Then they make the stairs with strong beams which they put across, and which they square and join in order that the work may be more even. The steps of these stairs are seven or eight feet wide; so that horses ascend and descend them without difficulty. However, the Indians steepen all the other sides of the platform, with the exception of the stairs, so that they cannot ascend to it; and the dwelling of the chief is sufficiently strong."[66]

Garcilasso's figures frequently need to be divided by from 5 to 10, but there may very well have been some such structure as this since we know that the houses of the Natchez chiefs were elevated on mounds, along with their ossuaries, as well as the town houses of the 171 Cherokee, though 10 to 20 houses are rather too many to assign to 361 them. The main fact is confirmed, however, by Biedma, who, in speaking of the cross set up at Casqui, says "it is the custom of the 342 Caciques to have near their houses a high hill, made by hand, some having the houses placed thereon."[67] This mound at Casqui is 344 also mentioned by the Fidalgo of Elvas.[68] Ranjel says that the 622 Spaniards set up a cross on the mound of a small village under a chief called Ichisi, somewhere in southern Georgia.[69] Further on he tells us that the "house of worship" of Talimeco, near the lower Savannah, was "on a high mound."[70] In speaking of the town of Uçita, in Florida, Elvas states that "the chief's house stood near the beach, upon a high mount made by hand for defence."[71] Plazas or squares are also referred to several times. Elvas speaks of the town yard of Napetaca, the town yard of Achese, and the town yard of Chicaça.[72] When the Spaniards entered Athahachi to meet Tascaluça, Ranjel says "the chief was on a kind of balcony on a mound at one side of the square."[73] These references show that at that time each town of any importance had a kind of public square and often a mound near by surmounted by public buildings or the residence of the chief. These references, but particularly the last, suggest the ancient arrangement of the Creek square ground as thus described by Bartram:

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[66] Shipp's Garcilasso, pp. 260-261.

"The subjoined plan (fig. 2) will illustrate the form and character 344 of these yards. 361

"*A*, the great area, surrounded by terraces or banks.

"*B*, a circular eminence, at one end of the yard, commonly nine or ten feet higher than the ground round about. Upon this mound stands the great *Rotunda, Hot House*, or *Winter Council House*, of the present Creeks. It was probably designed and used by the ancients who constructed it, for the same purpose.

"*C*, a square terrace or eminence, about the same height with the circular one just described, occupying a position at the other end of the yard. Upon this stands the *Public Square*.

"The banks inclosing the yard are indicated by the letters *b, b, b, b; c* indicates the '*Chunk-Pole*,' and *d, d*, the '*Slave-Posts*.'

"Sometimes the square, instead of being open at the ends, as shown in the plan, is closed upon all sides by the banks. In the lately built, or new Creek towns, they do not raise a mound for the foundation of their Rotundas or Public Squares. The yard, however, is retained, and the public buildings occupy nearly the same

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[67] Bourne's Narr. of De Soto, vol. II, pp. 27-28.

[68] Ibid., vol. I, p. 120.

[69] Ibid., vol. II, p. 89.

[70] Ibid., p. 101.

[71] Ibid., p. 23.

[72] Ibid., vol. I, pp. 44, 50, 102.

[73] Ibid., vol. II, p. 120.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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positions in respect to it. They also retain the central obelisk and the slave-posts."[74]

The use of the mound, while partly no doubt for defense and to add dignity to the structures placed upon it, was very often in order to protect the buildings from spring floods and the general dampness. Some earlier Spanish statements suggest that perhaps even in the sixteenth century not all public buildings were placed upon mounds. Yet by analogy with the Cherokee town house and the lower Mississippi temple we may consider it probable that the arrangement set forth by Bartram was actually a very ancient one. It would seem likely that the building called by Bartram the rotunda was once the most important element and that the public square was merely a summer substitute suggested by a southern climate. Such an evolution of the Creek public buildings would bring them into line with those known to have existed among the Cherokee and the tribes of the Mississippi. A later evolution changed the relative position of the elements here brought together and finally resulted in an almost complete elimination of the mounds. We will continue with Bartram's description of the later square (fig. 3) which remained essentially as he represents it almost to the present day.

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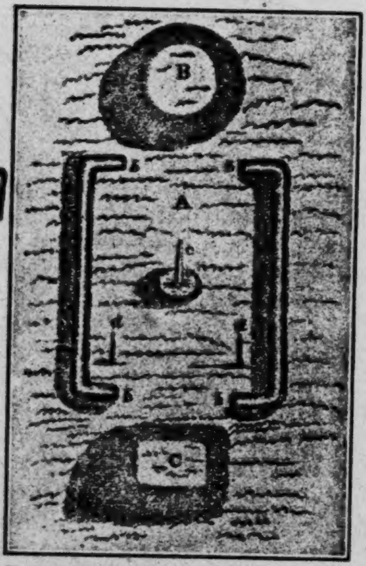

FIG. 2.—Ancient pattern of Creek Ceremonial or Busk Ground. (After Bartram.)

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"This is the most common plan or arrangement of the Chunky-Yard Public Square, and Rotunda of the *modern* Creek towns.

"*A*, the Public Square or area.

"*B*, the Rotunda; *a*, the door opening towards the square; the three circular lines show the two rows of seats, sofas, or cabins; the punctures show the pillars or columns which support the building; *c*, the great central pillar, or column, surrounded by the spiral fire, which gives light to the house.

"*C*, part of the Chunky-Yard."[75]

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[74] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, pp. 51-63.

[75] Ibid., p. 54.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

But however the arrangement, it is to be noticed that the public grounds of the Creeks included three elements, the *A*, *B*, and *C* of Bartram. As already stated, I believe the building which he calls the rotunda to be the oldest element of all, although it is the one which has disappeared most completely. In construction it was similar to the winter house of the individual Creek Indian, differing little except in size and the uses to which it was put. Adair says: 344●

"It is usually built on the top of a hill; and, in that separate and imperial state house, the old beloved men and head warriors meet on material business, or to divert themselves, and feast and dance with the rest of the people. They furnish the inside with genteel couches, either to sit or lie on, about seven feet wide, and a little more in length, with a descent towards the wall, to secure them from falling off when asleep. Every one takes his seat, according to his reputed merit; a worthless coxcomb dare not be guilty of the least intrusion—should he attempt it, he is ordered to his proper place, before the multitude, with the vilest disgrace, and bears their stinging laughter."[76] 344 623

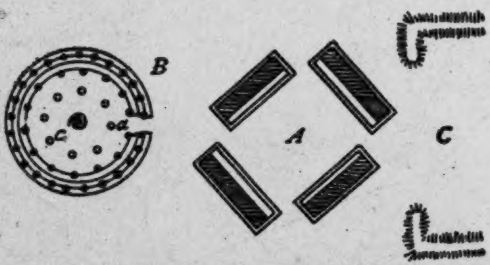

FIG. 3.—Later pattern of Creek Ceremonial or Busk Ground. (After Bartram.)

Swan describes it as follows:

"The hot-house is a perfect pyramid of about twenty-five feet high, on a circular base of the same diameter. The walls of it are of clay, about six feet high, and from thence drawn regularly to a point at the top, and covered round with tufts of bark. Inside of the hot-house is one broad circular seat made of canes, and attached to the walls all around. The fire is kindled in the center; and the house, having no ventilator, soon becomes intolerably hot; yet the savages, amidst all the smoke and dust raised from the earthen floor by their violent manner of dancing, bear it for hours together without the least apparent inconvenience."[77] 344

Hawkins names this house the "chooc-ofau thluc-co"—Tcokō′fa lă′ko, "house with a big room," as obtained by myself—and he goes on to give the following description:

"This is near the square, and is constructed after the following manner: Eight posts are fixed in the ground, forming an octagon of thirty feet diameter. They are twelve feet high, and large enough to support the roof. On these, five or six logs are placed, of a side, drawn in as they rise. On these, long poles or rafters, to suit the height of the building, are laid, the upper ends forming a point, and the lower ends projecting out six feet from the octagon, and resting on posts five feet high, placed in a circle round the octagon, with plates on them, to which the rafters are tied with splits. The rafters are near together, and fastened with splits. These are covered with clay, and that with pine bark; the wall, six feet from the octagon, is clayed up; they have a small door into a small portico, curved round for five or six feet, then into the house.

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[76] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 421.

[77] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 265-266.

"The space between the octagon and the wall, is one entire sopha, where the visitors lie or sit at pleasure. It is covered with reed, mat or splits.

"In the centre of the room, on a small rise, the fire is made, of dry cane or dry old pine slabs, split fine, and laid in a spiral circle." [78]

The following account is from Bartram:

"The great council house or rotunda is appropriated to much the same purpose as the public square, but more private, and seems particularly dedicated to political affairs; women and youth are never admitted; and I suppose it is death for a female to presume to enter the door, or approach within its pale.[78a] It is a vast conical building or circular dome, capable of accommodating many hundred people; and constructed and furnished within, exactly in the same manner as those of the Cherokees already described, but much larger than any I had seen of them; there are people appointed to take care of it, to have it daily swept clean, and to provide canes for fuel, or to give light." [79]

Bartram's description of the Cherokee "rotunda," to which reference is made in the above account, is as follows:

"They first fix in the ground a circular range of posts or trunks of trees, about six feet high, at equal distances, which are notched at top, to receive into them from one to another, a range of beams or wall plates; within this is another circular order of very large and strong pillars, above twelve feet high, notched in like manner at top, to receive another range of wall plates; and within this is yet another or third range of stronger and higher pillars, but fewer in number, and standing at a greater distance from each other; and lastly, in the centre stands a very strong pillar, which forms the pinnacle of the building, and to which the rafters centre at top; these rafters are strengthened and bound together by cross beams and laths, which sustain the roof or covering, which is a layer of bark neatly placed, and tight enough to exclude the rain, and sometimes they cast a thin superficies of earth over all. There is but one large door, which serves at the same time to admit light from without and the smoak to escape when a fire is kindled; but as there is but a small

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[78] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 71–72.

[78a] This is erroneous; see Swan's statement on p. 182.

[79] Bartram, Travels, pp. 448–449.

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fire kept, sufficient to give light at night, and that fed with dry small sound wood divested of its bark, there is but little smoak. All around the inside of the building, betwixt the second range of pillars and the wall, is a range of cabins or sophas, consisting of two or three steps, one above or behind the other, in theatrical order, where the assembly sit or lean down; these sophas are covered with mats or carpets, very curiously made of thin splints of Ash or Oak, woven or platted together; near the great pillar in the centre the fire is kindled for light, near which the musicians seat themselves, and round about this the performers exhibit their dances and other shows at public festivals, which happen almost every night throughout the year." [80]

This writer is the only one mentioning three concentric rows of posts in addition to the central pillar.

Contemporaneous with Bartram's description is that of Taitt:

"The hot house is generally built at the north west Corner of the Square having the door fronting the South East. The one in this Town [Tukabahchee] is a Square building about 30 feet diameter rounded a little at the Corners; the walls are about four feet high; from these walls the roof rises about twelve feet, terminating in a point at top. The door is the only Opening in this house for they have no window nor funnell for the smoke to go out, there is a small entry about ten feet long built at the out side of the door and turned a little round the side of the house to keep out the Cold and prevent the wind blowing the fire about the House; they make a Circle of pitch pine Split small; or in lieu of the pitch pine they use small dry Canes, leaving a small space of the Circle Open where the fire is lighted, still keeping some person Employed to add pitch pine of Canes to one part of the Circle while the fire Consumes the other. In this house the Indians consult about the affairs of their Nation in the Winter Season and in their Square in Summer." [81]

[623]

Hitchcock's notes contain a short description of the Tukabahchee tcokofa erected after the emigration of the Creeks to the banks of the Canadian. He calls this building "the Round house," and says:

"Considerable ingenuity has been employed in its erection.[81a] The main structure is supported upon *twelve* posts or pillars, one end sunk in the ground. They are disposed in a circle about 9 or 10 ft. apart, making a space within of about 120 ft. circumference, in the centre of which, upon the ground, is the sacred fire. The roof over this circle

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[80] Bartram, Travels, pp. 366-367.

[81] Taitt in Mereness, Trav. in Am. Col., p. 503.

[81a] It seems that the architect was Tukabahchee miko, a well-known Upper Creek leader and at that time its leading medicine maker. After giving the dimensions of the building as "about 60 feet in diameter and 30 feet high," he says that Tukabahchee miko "cut sticks in miniature of every log required in the construction of the building, and distributed them proportionately among the residents of the town, whose duty it was to cut logs corresponding with their sticks, and deliver them upon the ground appropriated for the building, at a given time. At the raising of the house, not a log was cut or changed from its original destination; all came together in their appropriate places, as intended by the designer. During the planning of this building, which occupied him six days, he did not partake of the least particle of food."—Smithson. Misc. Colls., no. 53, p. 12.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNIJ Creek NNII

.344 is a cone terminating in a point over the fire some 20 odd feet high. The rafters extend down from the apex of the cone beyond the twelve pillars, which are about 8 ft. high, to within 4 or 5 ft. of the ground, which space, of 4 or 5 ft., is closed entirely with earth. Between the pillars and the extreme exterior, a space of several feet, are seats of mats, like those of the sheds [in the Square]. The manner of constructing the roof is very remarkable for Indian work. Upon the alternate couples of the 12 pillars are first placed horizontal pieces, then upon the ends of these are placed other horizontal pieces between the other couples of pillars, then another series of horizontal pieces resting upon the second set, but drawn within towards the centre of the circle a few inches. Upon these again are other pieces still more drawn in. There are 4 tiers of horizontal pieces thus placed upon each other (fig. 4).

"A, b, c, d, are four of the twelve pillars. Pieces are first laid upon ab and upon cd, then a piece upon these and between bc, etc., etc. These horizontal pieces are strongly bound together by leather thongs of green hide. They are only carried up to the number of 4 sufficient for giving a direction and a foundation for the rafters, which are laid upon these, extending up to a point in one direction and in the other direction over [the] outside nearly to the ground. The rafters are strongly bound by thongs and covered with ordinary rived boards for shingles. There is but one small entrance to the House which is next towards the angle of the square adjacent to which the Round House stands." [a]

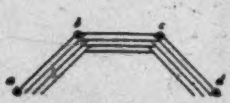

FIG. 4.—Structure of the roof of a Creek tookofa. (After Hitchcock)

[624] He adds that certain persons were appointed to preserve the buildings and that they were obliged to take the black drink every morning.

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344 These descriptions, particularly that of Hawkins, agree with those I have myself obtained from old men who remember some of the hot houses that were built in Oklahoma. One had even heard that these buildings were anciently on mounds. In later times, however, the construction became much simpler. Some were made by resting poles on one end on an earthen wall and drawing the upper ends together at the center, the whole being covered with long boards. It is to be added that, although the seats ran all the way around this building on the inside, it was divided into separate "beds," maintaining the same general position as those in the "big house" out of doors. It was, as nearly as could be managed, an indoors version of the latter. During the Civil War most of these houses disappeared, and only one seems to have been built after that time, in this case by the people of Pakan tallahassee. One of the men who had participated

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[a] Hitchcock, Ms. notes. The overlapping of the horizontal pieces in the sketch is crudely indicated, suggesting an outward rather than an inward flare.

in the erection of this particular structure told me that the boards were made, and the materials brought to the spot, set up and fastened together—with grapevines instead of nails—all in 10 days. This hot house was used by the Laksafáski,[33] who are the tástánágalgi—in this town equivalent to the Deer clan. It was afterwards burned to the ground and has never been replaced, though the foundation, including the location of the large center post and the circular outline, was traceable when I visited the Pakan tallahassee busk ground in 1912. At Tukabahchee its place is still theoretically marked, and a fire made for it annually, in a circular area about 50 feet in diameter northwest of the square ground.[33a] 177 344

The outdoors council ground or "big house," as it is known to the Creeks, has also suffered degeneration, though not to such a marked degree as the tcokofa. The best early descriptions are by Bartram, Swan, and Hawkins, and they are confirmed by allusions on the part of Adair and other writers. Hawkins says: 344

"Choo-co-thluc-co, (big house), the town house or public square, consists of four square buildings of one story, facing each other, forty by sixteen feet, eight feet pitch; the entrance at each corner. Each building is a wooden frame, supported on posts set in the ground, covered with slabs, open in front like a piazza, divided into three rooms, the back and ends clayed, up to the plates. Each division is divided lengthwise, into two seats; the front, two feet high, extending back half way, covered with reed-mats or slabs; then a rise of one foot, and it extends back, covered in like manner, to the side of the building. On these seats they lie or sit at pleasure."[34]

Swan's description is yet longer:

"The public squares, placed near the centre of each town, are formed by four buildings of equal size, facing inwards, and enclosing an area of about thirty feet on each side. These houses are made of the same materials as their dwelling-houses, but differ by having the front which faces the square left entirely open, and the walls of the back sides have an open space of two feet or more next to the eaves, to admit a circulation of air. Each of these houses is partitioned into three apartments, making twelve in all, which are called the cabins; the partitions which separate these cabins are made of clay, and only as high as a man's shoulders, when sitting. Each cabin has three seats, or rather platforms, being broad enough to sleep upon. The first is raised about two feet from the ground, the second is eight inches higher, and the third, or back seat, as much above the second. The whole of the seats are joined together by a covering of cane-mats, as large as carpets. It is a rule, to have a new covering to the seats every year, previous to the ceremony of the busk; therefore, as the 344 352

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[33] Said by some to be a nickname for the [illegible]; see p. 157.

[33a] Some further notes on the tcokofa will be found on p. [illegible].

[34] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 68-69.

344 old coverings are never removed, they have, in most of their squares,
352 eight, ten and twelves coverings, laid one upon the other.

"The squares are generally made to face the east, west, north and
344 south. The centre cabin, on the east side,[a] is always allotted to the
[554] beloved, or first men of the town, and is called the beloved seat.
Three cabins, on the south side, belong to the most distinguished
warriors; and those on the north side, to the second men, etc. The
west side[b] is appropriated to hold the lumber apparatus used in cook-
[532 ing black-drink, war-physic, &c. On the post, or on a plank over each
of the cabins, are painted the emblems of the family to whom it is
614] allotted, to wit: the buffalo family have the buffalo painted on their
cabin; the bear has the bear, and so on.

"Up under the roofs of the houses are suspended a heterogeneous collection of emblems and trophies of peace and war, viz: eagles' feathers, swans' wings, wooden scalping knives, war-clubs, bundles of snake-root war-physic, baskets, etc.

[592] "Such posts and other timbers about the square as are smooth enough to admit of it, have a variety of rude paintings of warriors' heads with horns, horned rattlesnakes, horned alligators, etc.

[621 "Some of the squares in the red or war-towns, which have always
been governed by warriors, are called painted squares, having all the
531] posts and smooth timber about them painted red, with white or black
edges. This is considered a peculiar and very honorary mark of distinction. Some towns also have the privilege of a covered square, which is nothing more than a loose scaffolding of canes laid on poles over the whole of the area between the houses. Whence these privileges arose, I could never learn; and it is a doubt with me if they know themselves.

[574] "Travelling Indians, having no relations in the town, often sleep in the public square as they are passing on their journey. This is one of their ancient rites of hospitality. And poor old men and women, suffering for want of clothes, are entitled to sleep in the hot-houses of the town they live in, if they please.

"The square is the place for all public meetings, and the performance of all their principal warlike and religious ceremonies.

[704] "If a man dies in the town, the square is hung full of green boughs as tokens of mourning; and no black-drink is taken inside of it for four days.

"If a warrior or other Indian is killed from any town having a square, black-drink must be taken on the outside of the square; and every ceremony in its usual form is laid aside until satisfaction is had for the outrage.

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[a] This should read "west side" unless the square Swan is describing was different from all others except that of the Alabama.

[b] Or east side (?); see preceding note.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

"Each square has a black-drink cook, and two or three young warriors that attend every morning when black-drink is to be taken, and warn the people to assemble by beating a drum." [illegible] 344 • [272]

Hawkins probably had the square of Kasihta more particularly in mind and Swan that of Otciapofa. From Bartram we have two different descriptions, one more generalized, the other a particular account of the square of Atasi. The first and briefer of these runs as follows:

"The Public Square of the Creeks consists of four buildings of equal size, placed one upon each side of a quadrangular court. The principal or Council House is divided transversely into three equal apartments, separated from each other by a low clay wall. This building is also divided longitudinally into two nearly equal parts; the foremost or front is an open piazza, where are seats for the council. [623] The middle apartment is for the king (*mico*), the great war chief, second head man, and other venerable and worthy chiefs and warriors. The two others are for the warriors and citizens generally. The back apartment of this house is quite close and dark, and without entrances, except three very low arched holes or doors for admitting the priests. Here are deposited all the most valuable public things, as the eagle's tail or national standard, the sacred calumet, the drums, and all the [778] apparatus of the priests. None but the priests having the care of these articles are admitted; and it is said to be certain death for any other person to enter.

"Fronting this is another building, called the "Banqueting House;" and the edifices upon either hand are halls to accommodate the people on public occasions, as feasts, festivals, etc. The three buildings last mentioned are very much alike, and differ from the Council House only in not having the close back apartment." [illegible]

His description of the Atasi square is much longer:

"The great or public square generally stands alone, in the centre and highest part of the town: it consists of four-square or cubical buildings, or houses of one story, uniform, and of the same dimensions, so situated as to form an exact tetragon, encompassing an area of half an acre of ground, more or less, according to the strength or largeness of the town, or will of the inhabitants: there is a passage or avenue at each corner of equal width: each building is constructed of a wooden frame fixed strongly in the earth, the walls filled in, and neatly plastered with clay mortar; close on three sides, that is the back and two ends, except within about two feet of the wall plate or eaves, which is left open for the purpose of a window and to admit a free passage of the air; the front or side next to the area is quite open like a piazza. One of these buildings is properly the coun- 344 623

[illegible] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. [illegible].

[illegible] Bartram in Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc., vol. III, pp. [illegible].

344 [623] cilhouse where the mico, chiefs, and warriors, with the citizens who have business, or choose to repair thither, assemble every day in council, to hear, decide and rectify all grievances, complaints and contentions, arising betwixt the citizens; give audience to ambassadors, and strangers; hear news and talks from confederate towns, allies or distant nations; consult about the particular affairs of the town, as erecting habitations for new citizens; or establishing young families, concerning agriculture, etc. This building is somewhat different from the other three: it is closely shut up on three sides, that is, the back and two ends, and besides, a partition wall longitudinally from end to end divides it into two apartments, the back part totally dark, only three small arched apertures or holes opening into it from the front apartment or piazza, and little larger than just to admit a man to crawl in upon his hands and knees. This secluded [778] place appears to me to be designed as a sanctuary* dedicated to religion, or rather priest craft; for here are deposited all the sacred things, as the physic pot, rattles, chaplets of deer's hoofs and other apparatus of conjurations; and likewise the calumet or great pipe of peace, the imperial standard, or eagle's tail, which is made of the feathers of the white eagle's tail (Vultur sacra) curiously formed and displayed like an open fan on a sceptre or staff, as white and clean as possible when displayed for peace, but when for war, the feathers are painted or tinged with vermillion. The piazza or front of this building, is equally divided into three apartments, by two transverse walls or partitions, about breast high, each having three orders or ranges of seats or cabins stepping one above and behind the other, which accommodate the senate and audience, in the like order as observed in the rotunda. The other three buildings which compose the square, are alike furnished with three ranges of cabins or sophas, and serve for a banqueting-house, to shelter and accommodate the audience and spectators at all times, particularly at feasts or public entertainments, where all classes of citizens resort day and night in the summer or moderate season; the children and females however are seldom or never seen in the public square.

344 532 "The pillars and walls of the houses of the square are decorated with various paintings and sculptures; which I suppose to be hieroglyphic, and as an historic legendary of political and sacerdotal affairs: but they are extremely picturesque or caricature, as men in variety of attitudes, some ludicrous enough, others having the head of some kind of animal, as those of a duck, turkey, bear, fox, wolf, buck, etc., and again those kind of creatures are represented having the human head. These designs are not ill executed; the outlines bold, free and well proportioned. The pillars supporting the front

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* "Sanctorum or sacred temple; and it is said to be death for any person but the mico, war-chief, and high priest to enter in, and none are admitted but by permission of the priests, who guard it day and night."—Bartram.

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or piazza of the council-house of the square, are ingeniously formed in the likeness of vast speckled serpents, ascending upwards; the Ottasses being of the snake family or tribe." [illegible]

Taitt's description, referring particularly to Tukabahchee, is brief but to the point:

"The Square is formed by four houses about forty feet in Length and ten wide. Open in front and divided into three different Cabins each. The seats are made of Canes Split and worked together raised about three feet off the Ground; and half the width of the House, the back half being raised above the other about one foot; these Cabins serve for beds as well as seats in Summer." [illegible]

January 31, 1842, General Hitchcock visited the Tukabahchee Square, in what is now Oklahoma, and gives the following description:

"The *Square* consists of four shed roofs forming a rectangle 20 paces on a side within. Each roof is closed on three sides to the ground, the fourth or inner side being open for counsellors to sit in, where mats are spread made of cane for seats. The four sheds are separated on their angles 4 or 5 paces for entrance and egress and they are situated so that diagonals of the Square are nearly upon the meridian line and at right angles to it. The 3 sides of the sheds which are closed are closed with mud and are raised about 6 feet, the open front inside being a corresponding 6 feet. Each shed is divided into three parts by a partition raised only about elbow high to one in a sitting posture. Upon each partition there are two earth bowls about a foot in diameter in which live coals are placed during the council for the grave counsellors to light their pipes by.

"One of the sheds is appropriated, or two parts of the three into which it is divided, to the preservation of articles used in the preparation and drinking of the 'black drink.' The most curious part of the preparation at the Square is at the west angle a few feet from the angle outside." [illegible]

Another description, probably applying to the Coweta Square, is furnished by Milfort and will be found in the chapter on Creek government.[illegible] Still another is contained in the Creek origin myth related to Gatschet by Ispahihtca of Kasihta and refers to that town. The dimensions given are greater than those included in the descriptions of Hawkins, Taitt, and Hitchcock. Adair gives the size of the central section of the west bed as 9 by 7, which would indicate that the entire bed was not more than 30 feet long.

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Attention should be called to the inclosed space behind the chief's bed mentioned by Hawkins and Bartram, and also by Adair who styles it "the holy of holies" and says regarding it: "As the Jews had

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[illegible] Bartram, Travels, pp. 453-454.

[illegible] Taitt in Mereness, Trav. in Am. Col., p. [illegible].

[illegible] Hitchcock, Ms. Notes.

[illegible] See pp. 311-312.

•344 778 a *sanctum sanctorum*, or most holy place, so have all the Indian nations; particularly, the Muskohge. It is partitioned off by a mud-wall about breast-high, behind the white seat, which always stands to the left hand of the red-painted war-seat; there they deposit their consecrated vessels, and supposed holy utensils, none of the laity daring to approach that sacred place, for fear of particular damage to themselves, and general hurt to the people, from the supposed divinity of the place."[84] Later most of the objects which had been preserved here were put up under the roof as was the case in the square described by Hawkins. In old Okchai they were up under the roof at the north end of the west cabin, where the Wind clan sat. In recent years, perhaps to protect them from desecration by the [177 whites, they have in some towns built a small house about 4 feet 346] each way in which the pots used at that time are stored. There is one at Eufaula just back of the chief's bed, one at Alabama southeast of the square, and one at Chiaha Seminole in the same relative position. Tukabahchee, where the busk vessels and appurtenances are kept in a small inclosed space just back of the center of the chief's bed, is the only town to preserve a relic of the more ancient custom.

344 In olden times there was in front of each front post in every bed a stick tapering to a point at the top, leaning outward, and provided on the outer side with two notches. The butt ends of the wands on which the feathers were tied used in the tcitahaia dance were stuck into the ground at these same points. The sticks were called atásȧ, like the smaller ones carried by the leaders of the women in the women's dance and the small ones given to youths when they were named, and in all cases they evidently refer to the old-fashioned war club (atásȧ or atásu). This description applies particularly to Tukabahchee. Other towns are said to have had sticks in the shape of axes instead of war clubs. Besides these sticks I am told that on the front of each post on the right-hand side of the center of each bed as you face the bed notches were cut called (i)nȧ'tásȧ ha'ki, "made like the atásȧ," and only men of great importance who could call councils sat next to these posts.

Jackson Lewis agreed with Hawkins in stating that in the old days when cane seats were employed there were generally only two tiers, but it is evident that the practice was different in different towns. Aside from the plan given by Swan the only attempt to represent any part of the square graphically was by a French artist who sketched what is probably the west bed of the Alabama ground in the early part of the eighteenth century. (Fig. 5.) This differs from all other illustrations and descriptions in showing four sections instead of three.

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[84] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 80.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

From these descriptions it appears that the buildings of the square were anciently constructed somewhat after the fashion of a native house with a long porch. In Oklahoma they degenerated rapidly, especially after the Civil War. While I have seen one square in which the cabins were provided with a shingle roof, they are almost universally simple brush arbors. In those which retain the original idea most fully there are eight posts marking out the three ancient subdivisions, but in many grounds these have become reduced to six and in still others to four. Often, however, the tripartite division is theoretically maintained. The posts are forked at the top and bear a brush roof that is renewed every year at the time of the busk. The seats are usually of logs split in halves, laid with the flat surface uppermost. Two or three rows from front to back are made of these, but as a matter of fact many Indians, especially the principal men, now use wooden chairs brought from their camps. The well-nigh universal statement, on the part of earlier white writers and the modern Indians, is to the effect that the cabins, arbors, or "beds," as the Creeks themselves call them, should be laid out toward the four cardinal points, and this holds for almost all of the modern squares. Jackson Lewis said that they used the north star as a guide in placing them. On the other hand the great square of Tukabahchee is somewhat askew, and one of my interpreters, who had formerly been the miko of that town, asserted that it was intended that the entrances should lie toward the cardinal points. This is confirmed by Hitchcock.[34a] Whether this was an established custom of some or all of the Creek towns it would now be impossible to say, but I am of the opinion that it was never universal. A change has also come about in the number of arbors. Anciently there appear to have been four without exception. At least there is no early mention of a smaller number among the Creeks proper.[35]

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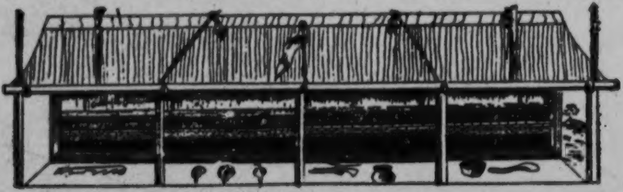

FIG. 5.—One of the beds in the Alabama Square Ground as it appeared in the early part of the eighteenth century. From a contemporary sketch. Medicine pots and spoons to right, on ground; gourd rattles to left; flag over the center pole; notched pole or atásá at either end and another pair some distance in from either end; a pole carrying a scalp at the top of each intermediate post; two full-length cane seats below. Near the left end, under the front of roof, are written the words "Caban de Conseille." (From an article entitled "Documents concernant l'Histoire des Indiens," by the Baron Marc de Villiers, in the Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, n. s. vol. xiv, 1922, p. 136.)

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[34a] See p. 185.

[35] For the Seminole, however, see Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 55.

177 344 With a falling off in population, however, and the conversion of many Indians to Christianity, it was found unnecessary to put up so many, and also too laborious for the workers available. Where four were preserved one or more came to be assigned to the women and children, although anciently they did not have seats on the square ground. We therefore find in many towns only three arbors, and in a few, like Alabama, only two. The ones dropped off were those which had been occupied by the boys, the visitors, and the less important officials. Łiwahali Seminole presents an extreme stage in the decline of the busk, each arbor being represented by only a single split log entirely uncovered (pl. 5, *c*). The last relic of the public ground to survive, however, was the chunkey yard, which we have yet to consider.

344 Not so much attention is paid to this chunkey yard by our early authorities, Hawkins practically disregarding it, while Swan merely refers to "a May-pole, with a large circular beaten yard around it, at the southwest corner, which is called the chunkey yard."[66] Bartram gives the fullest description of the ground to be found among older writers. Following is his account in full:

"The *Chunky-Yard* of the Creeks, so called by the traders, is a cubiform area, generally in the centre of the town, because the Public Square and the Rotunda, or great winter Council-house, stand at the two opposite corners of it. It is generally very extensive, especially in the large old towns,[67] is exactly level, and sunk two, sometimes three, feet below the banks or terraces surrounding it, which are sometimes two, one above and behind the other, and are formed of earth cast out of the area at the time of its formation; these banks or terraces serve the purposes of seats for the spectators. In the centre of the yard there is a low circular mount or eminence, in the centre of which stands erect the *chunky-pole*, which is a high obelisk, or four square pillars declining upwards to an obtuse point, in shape and proportion much resembling the Egyptian obelisk. This is of wood, the heart or inward resinous part of the sound pine-tree, and is very durable; it is generally from thirty to forty feet high, and to the top of this is fastened some object to shoot at with bows and arrows, the rifle, etc., at certain times appointed. Near each corner of the lower and further end of the yard stands erect a less pillar or pole, about twelve feet high: these are called the *slave-posts*, because to them are bound the captives condemned to be burnt, and these posts are usually decorated with the scalps of their slain enemies; the scalps with the hair on them, and strained on a little hoop, usually five or six inches in width, are suspended by a string six or seven inches in length round about the top of the pole, where they remain as long as they last. I have seen some that have been there so long as to lose all the hair, and the skin remaining white as parchment or paper. The pole is usually crowned with the white dry skull of an enemy. In some of these towns I have counted six or eight scalps fluttering on one pole in these yards. Thus it appears evidently enough that this area is designed for a public place of exhibition of shows and games, and formerly some of the scenes were of the most tragical and barbarous nature, as torturing the miserable captives with fire in various ways, and causing or forcing them to run the gauntlet naked, chunked and beat almost to death with burning chunks and fire-brands, and at last burnt to ashes.

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[66] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 265.

[67] "The chunky yards are of different sizes, according to the largeness and fame of the town they belong to; some are 200 or 300 yards in length, and of proportionable breadth."—Bartram.

"Inquired of the traders for what reason this area was called the *Chunky-Yard;* they were in general ignorant, yet they all seemed to agree in a lame story of its originating from its being the place where the Indians formerly put to death and tortured their captives—or from the Indian name for it, which bears such a signification.

"The Indians do not now torture their captives after that cruel manner as formerly; but there are some old traders who have been present at the burning of captives.

"I observed no Chunky-Yards, chunky-pole, or slave-posts in use in any of the Cherokee towns: and when I have mentioned in my journal, chunky-yards in the Cherokee country, it must be understood that I have seen the remains or vestiges of them in the ancient ruins of towns; for in the present Cherokee towns that I visited, though there were the ancient mounts and signs of the yard adjoining, yet the yard was either built upon or turned into a garden spot or the like.

"Indeed, I am convinced that the Chunky-Yards now, or lately, in use amongst the Creeks, are of very ancient date—not the formation of the present Indians. But in most towns they are cleaned out and kept in repair, being swept clean every day, and the poles kept up and decorated in the manner I have mentioned."[58]

A footnote by Squier gives the true origin of the term chunkey, viz, from the name of a game to be explained elsewhere and common throughout the Southern States in primitive times.[58a] Bartram seems to have seen a chunkey-pole compounded of four pieces, an unusually elaborate construction. Nothing of the kind is known at the present day.

After describing the Atasi square in his Travels, Bartram goes on to tell us that "in the midst of a large oblong square adjoining this town (which was surrounded with a low bank or terrace) is standing a high pillar, round like a pin or needle; it is about forty feet in

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[58] Bartram, in Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc., vol. III, pp. 54-56.

[58a] See p. 468.

● 344 height, and between two and three feet in diameter at the earth, gradually tapering upwards to a point; it is one piece of pine wood, and arises from the centre of a low, circular, artificial hill, but it leans a little to one side.”[a] He adds that the Indian traders knew nothing about this and the Indians themselves claimed to have found it in that same situation when their ancestors arrived in the country.[a] There can be no doubt, however, that this was nothing more than a chunk yard with its ball post, although it is possible that it belonged to an older town and was not in use in Bartram's time. It is at least interesting to note that according to our author's statement there was no pine of the kind used for this post then growing within 12 or 15 miles of the place.

The pole (Muskogee pokàbi) is a simple straight stick, tapering to the top and about 30 feet high, at the summit of which is hung the skull of a cow or horse. In the Fish Pond towns a wooden fish is used, the idea being derived from the town name, and in Eufaula there is a wooden bird. The last is said not to have any particular significance unless it be that it is the American national emblem. The slave posts are barely remembered by the oldest people, but it is believed that they were made in the shape of atàsà or “war clubs.” The chunkey game is played no longer. Except during the busk this ground is employed by the Indians mainly in playing a game between the men and women which will be described later. During the busk, however, its bounds are within the sacred area, and some of the dances take place there. The Okchai town has two pokàbis, one to the east and one to the west. At Hilibi there are two, one, the pokàbi proper, within the prescribed bounds and the other beyond, to the south. The latter is used for purely social purposes, the situation of the former not being so well suited to the game. The fact that the latter is maintained distinct shows that there was a sacred character appertaining to the chunkey-yard and also that it was considered proper that it occupy a certain position. The ridges of earth to which Bartram refers as furnishing seats for spectators were made by successive cleanings, or rather scrapings, of the surface of the yard. At the present day these ridges (tàdjo) are difficult to distinguish in some grounds, but in a few, such as those of Tukabahchee and Okchai, they have almost the appearance of earthworks. In some an inner and an outer tàdjo may be distinguished, the former just outside of the four beds that form the square. This feature is, however, said to be purely accidental, due to cleaning out under the beds. Piles of trash are also left about the roots of trees and other obstructions.

Around the edges of each busk ground were a number of camps occupied by the families participating in the ceremony during the period of its continuance. The permanent parts of two of these are shown in Plates 4, *a*, and 6, *c*.

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[a] Bartram. Travels, p. 455.

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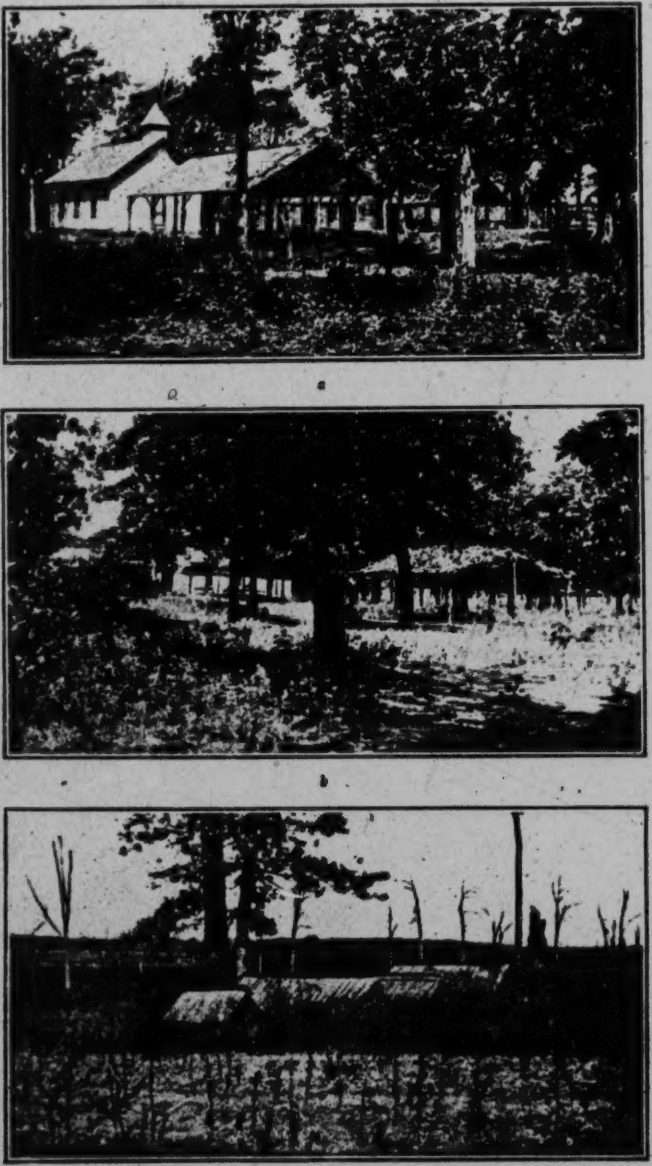

764

CREEK CHURCHES AND BURIALS

[facing p. 190]

344 346 Some of the open-air features of the old ceremonial grounds have been preserved in the Indian churches of modern times. (Pl. 1, *a* and *b*.)

177 171 344 The social and ceremonial structures and grounds of the Creeks have thus undergone considerable changes both in evolution and subsequent devolution. It is probable, in fact quite certain, that those above described were not the only types to be found in the South. What may be gleaned regarding the public buildings of the Cherokee, Natchez, Choctaw, Carolinian and Floridian tribes shows that, of the arbor style of building especially, there were several types. That in vogue in the Creek confederacy was probably standardized by the selection of one particular pattern and its subsequent adoption by a certain complex of tribes. Open arbors of different character were particularly in evidence in Florida and when the Creeks invaded that peninsula they found some of these in use and probably adopted them occasionally. Certain of these invaders, such as the Oconee, had not been incorporated with the other Creeks long and may themselves have had a distinct type of building, and these would have been more in evidence before the Creek war and the submergence of the earlier Seminole in the flood of Indians which poured into Florida after that struggle. It is perhaps one such that Bartram describes in a little Seminole town "on the banks of the little lake below Charlotia." He says:

> "We were received and entertained friendly by the Indians, the chief of the village conducting us to a grand, airy pavilion in the centre of the village. It was four-square; a range of pillars or posts on each side supporting a canopy composed of Palmetto leaves, woven or thatched together, which shaded a level platform in the centre, that was ascended to from each side by two steps or flights, each about twelve inches high, and seven or eight feet in breadth, all covered with carpets or mats, curiously woven of split canes dyed of various colours." [1]

344 554 621 As we now have seen there were four arbors or beds (Creek tupa), usually laid out toward the four points of the compass. The names given to these beds vary. Sometimes one name was applied to the entire bed, sometimes to a section, while the names themselves were somewhat different in the different towns. Nevertheless in each town there was usually a bed upon which the term chiefs' bed (mikálgi or mikági intupa) may properly be bestowed, one which may be called the warriors' bed (tástánágálgi intupa), and one the boys' bed (tcibánágálgi intupa), the last for youths busking for the first time and sometimes, at a later period, allowed to women and children except during the fast. The fourth bed is often called the "peace bed," or the henihas' bed (henihálgi intupa) and was known

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[1] Bartram, Travels, p. 202.

344 554 621 to the traders as the "second men's cabin." The henihálgi always acted as companions, seconds, or lieutenants of the chiefs, and during the busk each principal official must be accompanied by a heniha. It is for this reason that the traders called them "second men." Their origin we will consider later.[a] Probably we can not solve the problem which they present entirely, but it may be mentioned that a class bearing practically the same name existed among the Timucua of Florida and that inihi in that language meant "consort" (husband or wife). 614 622 For our present purposes it is important to find out what clans in each town—so far as it can be determined—constituted the mikálgi or chiefs, and the henihálgi or second men, and how these and all other clans were seated. Originally the tástanágálgi or warriors seem to have been formed by promotion from all clans, but latterly the name has sometimes become identified with certain particular ones. Taking up first the chiefs and henihas we find the following condition in the different towns:

Town	Chiefs	Henihas [1]
Talladega	Bear	Raccoon.
Abihka (near Eufaula)	Raccoon or Bear [2]	Bear or Raccoon (second chief).[2]
Abihka-in-the-West	Panther	Raccoon.
Kan-tcati	Bear	Do.
Otciapofa	Beaver	Wind.
Tulsa Little River	do	Bird.
Tulsa Canadian	do	Beaver (second chief).
Lutcapoga	do	Bird [3] (Beaver, second chief).
Okfuskee	Bird (Bear—J. Lewis)	Bear.
Tcatoksofka	Bear	Beaver (second chief).
Abihkutci	do	Bird.
Nuyaka	do	Wind.
Talmutcasi	(1) Bird (2) Raccoon	(1) Wind; (2) Bird.
Pakan tallahassee	(1) Aktayatci (2) (Bear—J. Lewis).	(1) Wind; (2) Bird.
Wiogufki	(1) Aktayatci (Raccoon—J. Lewis); Wind (later); Alligator (later).	Wind; Alligator (later).
Tukpafka	Aktayatci	Panther.
Asilanabi	Bear; Raccoon (later)	Wind; Deer (later).
Okchai	Aktayatci (Raccoon—J. Lewis) [4]	Bird (Deer).
Lálogálga	Raccoon	Deer (second chief).
Wiwohka	(1) Panther [5] (Bird—J. Lewis) (2) Raccoon.	(1) Wind. (2) Wind.
Tuskegee	Wind or Bear [2]	Bear or Wind.[2]
Koasati	Raccoon	Wind (Panther, second chief).
Tukabahchee	Raccoon (Eagle—Hawkins)	Wind.[6]
Atasi	Bear [7]	Do.
Kealedji	Raccoon	Do.

[1] In some cases the name of the second chief's clan is remembered but the name of the heniha's clan forgotten. At times the two are confounded, and at times they are distinguished. (See p. 267.)

[2] The two clans were said to furnish the chief and second chief alternately.

[3] Legus Perryman seemed to think, however, that a Tciloki clan, perhaps the Aktayatci, furnished the henihas.

[4] Raccoon according to Jackson Lewis and another informant.

[5] Panther according to two informants.

[6] According to Kasihta yahola the Tukabahchee use the Deer clan as henihas "during the woman's dance."

[7] The last chief belonged, however, to the Bird clan.

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[a] See pp. [illegible]

and Jackson Lewis said the same thing. This is perhaps to be accounted for by the influence of Tukabahchee, but it is confessedly difficult to explain. 614 622 Turning to the Red towns we find that all of them were indeed headed by Red clans except Coweta, Atasi, Łapłako, Alabama, and one or two Seminole towns. The Seminole towns need not be considered on account of the disturbance which they suffered at the time of the removal to Florida and again in the removal to Oklahoma. Alabama may also be disregarded, as it is well known that it was formerly on the White side, associated with Okchai, and the case of Atasi may be dismissed because only one or two persons know anything about it and the organization as they remember it was evidently very much altered. Coweta and Łapłako, however, constitute important exceptions which can not so readily be brushed aside. There is reason to believe that the clans known to have held the chieftainship, or related clans of the same side, were long in occupancy of the head position. Nevertheless generally we do have an apparent conformity in leadership between White clans and White towns, and Red clans and Red towns. We know that both chiefs and henihas were changed in recent times owing to the playing out of clans. Originally the chiefs of Okchai were chosen from the Bear and Wind because they are powerful, but later changed to the Raccoon and Deer because they are peaceful. If there were many deaths in a town the circumstance might be attributed to the ruling clan and the clans be changed for better luck.

We now turn to the second point to be determined—the position of the clans in the different beds or arbors. 344 554 [614] 621 To prepare the ground for this, however, it will be necessary first to indicate the position which the beds occupied in the various towns. Although, as explained above, the names of these varied to some extent I shall call them the chiefs' bed, warriors' bed, henihas' bed, and youths' bed. Originally the women had no seats inside the square but had to content themselves with the rough benches beyond its limits. Adair says that the only women admitted into the Chickasaw[3] tcokofa during ceremonials were six "old beloved women" who entered once annually to take part in a certain dance. At other times, however, he states that women could sit on each side of the door. In some few cases it is impossible to distinguish the two, or even the three, last named beds, but this will disturb the general result very slightly. In the following table I indicate these positions for the various towns in accordance with the best information obtainable.

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[3] Supposing that the town he was describing was actually Chickasaw. See p. 380.

•344
554
621

Town	Chiefs' bed	Warriors' bed	Henihas' bed	Youths' bed
Talladega	W	E	S	N (wanting).
Abihka (near Eufaula)	W	E	S	N (wanting).
Abihka-in-the-West	W	E	S	N (for visitors).
Kan-tcati	W	S (west end)	E (north end)	N (wanting).
Otciapofa	W	E	N	S (wanting).
according to Swan	W [1]	S	N	E.[1]
Tulsa Little River	W	N	S	E (for visitors).
Tulsa Canadian (?)	W	S [2]	S [2]	N.
Lutcapoga	W	N[3] (S)	S [3] (N)	E.
Okfuskee	N	W	E	S.
Tcatoksofka	W	E [2]	E [2]	N and S.
Abihkutci	N	W	E	S.
Nuyaka	N	W	E	S.
Talmutcasi	N	E	W	S.
Pakan tallahassee	N	W	S	E (wanting).
Wiogufki (1)	W	S	(wanting)	E.
(2)	W	E	S	N (wanting).
Tukpafka	W	N	S	E (wanting).
Asilanabi	W	N	S	E.
Okchai	W	N	S	E.
Łalogálga	W	N	S	E.
Wiwohka (1)	W	E	N	S (wanting).
(2)	W		S	N (wanting).
Tuskegee	W	E [4]	N [4]	S.
Koasati No. 1	S	E(?)	?	?.
Koasati No. 2	W	N	S [5]	N (wanting).
Tukabahchee	SW	NW	SE	NE.
Atasi (1)	N	W	E	S.
(2)	N	S	E	W.
Kealedji	W	N	E(?)	S(?).
Łapłako	W	N	S	E.
Łiwahali	E	S	?	?.
Hilibi	W	S(?)	E(?)	N.
Upper Eufaula	N	S	E	W (wanting).
Alabama	E	W	S(?)[6]	N(?).[6]
Kasihta [7]	W	N	S	E (wanting).
Hitchiti	W	N	E	S.
Okmulgee	W	N	S	E.
Apalachicola	W	N	E	S.
Yuchi	W	N and S [8]		

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[1] Actually Swan transposes these two but, as I have already said (p. 182), I think we may fairly assume a mistake in the notes or in the transcription made from them.

[2] The warriors and the henihas occupied different parts of the same bed. There was no East bed in Tulsa Canadian.

[3] According to two informants.

[4] Speck, on the authority of Leslie Cloud, places the warriors in both the North and East beds, and it is true that the Isnala or warriors of the second class sat in the North bed.

[5] In modern times the henihas actually sat with the chiefs in the West bed.

[6] These two beds are now entirely wanting.

[7] All authorities, including Hawkins, agree.

[8] There was no East bed.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNl1 Creek NNl1

344
554
621

Town	Chiefs' bed	Warriors' bed	Henihas' bed	Youths' bed
Coweta (1)	W	E	N	S.
(2)	W	S	N	E.
Łikatcka	W	S (east end)	S (west end)	E.[9]
Eufaula Hobayi	W	S	N	E.
Chiaha (1)	S	N	W	E.
(2)[10]	W	S	N	E.
Osochi [10]	W	N	S	E.
Ochesee	W	N	S	E.
Okfuskee Seminole	W	N	S	E.
Tallahasutci	W	N	S	E.
Hitchiti Seminole	W	N	S	E(?).
Eufaula Seminole	W	N (?)	S (?)	E (wanting).
Łiwahali Seminole	W	S	N	E.
Chiaha Seminole	W	S (?)	N (?)	E.
Mikasuki	W	N	S (?)	E.

[9] There was no name for the North bed.

[10] According to two informants.

The chiefs' bed we find almost always to the west, and, excepting in one case, always to the west among the Lower Creeks and the Seminole. The town square which Adair describes, whether it was Creek or Chickasaw, also had the chiefs' bed to the west, and he tells us specifically that it lay to the west in the old town of Coosa which has long since vanished. The exceptions are in the cases of the Okfuskee towns,[9a] Pakan tallahassee, Atasi, and Upper Eufaula, in which it was north; Łiwahali and Alabama in which it was east; and "Koasati No. 1" and the early Chiaha square in which it was south. I do not feel thorough confidence in the data from Atasi, Łiwahali, and Koasati No. 1, but the cases for the Okfuskee towns, Pakan tallahassee, Upper Eufaula, and Alabama are proved by the existing squares. Chiaha and Koasati No. 1 may perhaps be explained by Tukabahchee in which the bed lies southwest and is said sometimes to lie west and again to lie south. Possibly the peculiar reverse arrangement among the Alabama is due to the fact that the Alabama were at one time adopted by the Okchai who told them that they might "sit on the other side of their fire." At that time, therefore, their chiefs may have occupied the east cabin, and they may have retained the same position after separating from the Okchai. In the case of the Okfuskee I can only say that, as their towns lay well to the north and east, they may have desired to face somewhat inward toward the rest of the nation. But this is purely conjecture. Turning to the warriors' bed we find that in about 23 cases it was to the north, in 12 to 16 south, 6 to 11 east, and 5 or 6 west. In Hawkins's description of

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[9a] Tcatoksofka, which seems to constitute an exception, has long been abandoned and information regarding it is somewhat doubtful.

344
554
621

a Creek square it is placed to the north, but in those given by Swan and Adair to the south. Both positions were therefore relatively old, and there is no reason to doubt that the east and west positions may be old also, since the former is decisively characteristic of the Abihka towns while the latter is just as characteristic of the Okfuskee towns, Pakan tallahassee, and Alabama. The bed of the henihas is on the south side 18 to 28 times, on the north 6 to 10 times, on the east 10 to 12, and on the west once or twice. I doubt the correctness of the cases in which it is reported on the west, but all of the other positions probably occurred. In many cases it is difficult to determine the henihas' bed with certainty, since the name applied to it changed more than that of any other bed and the henihas themselves were frequently seated in the same cabin as the chiefs. The least important of all the beds was that which I have called the youths' bed, also used for visitors, for mixing the medicine, for storing articles, and in later times omitted altogether. This bed, or the space marking its absence, was on the east between 21 and 25 times, on the south 8 to 14 times, on the north 6 to 8 times, and on the west once or twice. One of the last, it should be observed, occurs in one of the extant square grounds. The characteristic positions for these beds were, therefore, west for that of the chiefs, north for that of the warriors, south for the henihas, and east for the youths. However, the warriors' bed was often south or east, the henihas' east or north, and the youths' south. When the chiefs' bed was shifted out of the west it was almost always to the north. There is practically no native explanation for the different positions which the beds occupied in different towns. Big Jack of Hilibi recalled a belief that the chiefs were made to face those they opposed in the ball games, but this would not hold for one-half of the Creek towns.

344
554
614
621

The location of the four beds now being determined for each town as closely as the material will permit, let us proceed, using this as a guide, to place the clans in them. In the following table is given as complete a statement of their positions as possible. The capital letters indicate the cardinal point of each bed and the small letters in parentheses whether this belonged to the chiefs, henihas, warriors, or youths.

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1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNll Creek NNll

344
554
614
621

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer
Talladega	S(h)	W(c)			S(h)	E(w)
Abihka	S(h)	W(c)			W(c)S(h)	E(w)
Abihka-in-the-West	S(h)	S(h)			S(h)	E(w)
Kan-tcati	S(?)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)		E(?)
Otciapofa	N(h)	W(c)		W(c)		E(w)
Tulsa Little River	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)		N(w)
Lutcapoga	S(h)(W(c))	W(c)(—)	S(h)(W(c))	W(c)(W(c))	N(w)(S(h))	
Okfuskee	E(h)	N(c)	N(c)		S(y)	S(y)
Tcatoksofka	E(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	N, S	N, S
Abihkutci	E(h)	N(c)	N(c)	N(c)	S(y)	S(y)
Nuyaka	E(h)	N(c)				
Talmutcasi	W(h)		N(c)			
Pakan tallahassee	N(c)	S(h)	S(h)		S(h)	W(w)
Wiogufki	W(c)(W(c))	W(c)(S(h))	S(w)	S(w)(W(c))	S(w)(—)	S(h), E(w)
Tukpafka	S(h)					W(c)
Asilanabi	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)
Okchai	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)			S(h)
Łäłogålga	W(c)					W(c)
Wiwohka	N(h)(W(c))	N(h)(—)	N(h)(—)	W(c)(—)	W(c)(—)	W(c)(S (h))
Tuskegee	W(c)(W(c))	N(h)(W(c))	W(c)(N(h))	N(h), W(c) (E(w))	N(h), W(c) (—)	
Koasati No. 1	S(c)	S(c)(?)	?	?	?	?
Koasati No. 2	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)
Tukabahchee	W(c)	W(c)(S(h))	W(c), S(h) (S(h))	S(h)	E(y)	W(c)
Atasi	S(h)(E(y))	W(w)&(E (h))	N(c)	N(c)	E(h)	N(c)
Kealedji	W(c)	E(y)	E(y)	E(y)	S(h)	W(c)
Łaplåko	W(c)	S(h)(W(c))	N(w)	N(w)	E(y)	E(y)
Łiwahali						
Hilibi	E(h?)	E(h?)	E(h?)		W(c)	S(w?)
Upper Eufaula	N(c)	N(c)	N(c)	N(c)	E(h)	(N(c))S(w)
Eufaula Hobayi	S(w)(W(c))	S(w)(W(c))	W(c)(N(h))	(N(h))	W(c)(N(h))	N(h)
Alabama	E(c)	E(c)(W(w))	E(c)		E(c)	E(c)
Kasihta	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)
Hitchiti	N(w)	N(w)	W(c)		E(h)	W(c)
Okmulgee	W(c)	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	N(w)
Apalachicola	W(c)(N(w))	W(c)(N(w))	W(c), N(w) (N(w)	E(h)(W(c))	E(h)(W(c))	N(w)(W (c))
Yuchi[1]						
Coweta	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)		
Łikatcka	S(h)	W(c)			W(c)	N(w)
Chiaha	(W(c))	W(h)(S(w))	N(w)(W(c))	(S?(w))	(N(h))	W(h)(N? (h))
Osochi	S(h)(S(h))	N(w)(W(c))	S(h)(N(w))	S(h)(—)	W(c)(N(w))	S(h)(—)
SEMINOLE TOWNS						
Ocheese	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	S(h)	N(w)
Okfuskee	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	N(w)	N(w)
Tallahassee	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	N(w)	N(w)
Hitchiti	N(w)	W(c)	W(c)	N(W)(?)		N(w)
Eufaula	S(h)					N(w)
Łiwahali	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	S(w)	N(h)
Chiaha	W(c)	W(c)	N(w?)	N(w?)	S(h?)	S(h?)
Mikasuki		W?(c)		S?(h)	W(c)	

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[1] The seating is not by clans.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNll Creek NNll

• 344
554
614
621

Town	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci	Snake	Potato	Tämi
Talladega	S(h)	W(c)	E(w)			
Abihka	S(h)	E(w)				
Abihka-in-the-West	W(c)	W(c)				
Kan-tcati	S(w)	E(h)				
Otciapofa	N(h)	E(w)	W(c)		N(h)	N(h)
Tulsa Little River		N(w)	N(w)		N(w)	
Lutcapoga	(N(w))	N(w)	N(w) and S (h)(S(h))		N(w)	N(w)
Okfuskee	S(y)		S(y)			S(y)
Tcatoksofka	N, S	N, S				
Abihkutci	S(y)	S(y)	S(y)		S(y)	S(y)
Nuyaka						
Talmutcasi						
Pakan tallahassee	N(c)	W(w)	N(c)			S(h)
Wiogufki	S(w)W(c)	E (y), E(w)	W(c)		E(y, w)	S(w)(W (c))
Tukpafka	S(h)					
Asilanabi	S(h)	W(c)	(scattered)		W(c)	S(h)
Okchai		W(c)	S(h)			
Łalogalga		W(c)				
Wiwohka	W(c)(W(c))	E(w)(S(h))	E(w)(—)	W(c)	E(w)	N(h)
Tuskegee	E(w)(N(h), W(c))	(E(w))	N(h)(E(w))		N(h)	
Koasati No. 1	S(?)	?	?			
Koasati No. 2	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)			
Tukabahchee	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)		E(y)	E(y)
Atasi	E(h)		E(h)			
Kealedji	E(y)	W(c)	S(h)		W(c)(S(h))	S(h)
Łaplako	S(h)	S(h)	W(c) (S(h))		N?(w)(E(y))	E(y)
Łiwahali	E(c)					
Hilibi		S(w?)	W(c)			W(c)
Upper Eufaula	S(w)(N(c))	N(c)	N(c)		S(w)(N(c))	E(h)
Eufaula Hobayi	N(h)	(N(h))	(N(h))		(N(h))	
Alabama			E(c)			
Kasihta	N(w)	S(h)(and N (w))	N(w)(and S (h))		S(h)	N(w)(S (h))
Hitchiti	N(w)		E(h)			
Okmulgee	N(w)	S(h)	S(h)		S(h)	
Apalachicola	W(c), N(w) (W(c))			E(h)	E(h), N(w), W(c)	
Yuchi[1]						
Coweta	S(h)		S(h)		S(h)	S(h)
Łikatcka	N(w)		S(h)			
Chiaha	N(w)(S(w))	S(c)(N(h))	(N(h))		S(c)(N(h))	(N(h))
Osochi	N(w)(W(c))	W(c)(W(c))	W(c)(—)		W(c)(W(c))	
SEMINOLE TOWNS						
Ocheese	N(w)	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	W(c)	
Okfuskee	N(w)	W(c)	N(w)	S(h)	W(c)	
Tallahasutci	N(w)		S(h)	S(h)	W(c)	N(w)
Hitchiti						
Eufaula	W(c)	N(w)	S(h)	S(h)	N(w)	
Łiwahali	S(w)		S(w)	S(w)		
Chiaha		N(w?)	S(h?)		N(w?)	
Mikasuki	W(c), N(w)				W(c), N(w)	

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[1] The seating is not by clans.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

344
554
614
621

Town	Turkey	Pahosa	Kapitca	Wildcat	Wolf	Mole
Talladega						
Abihka						
Abihka-in-the-West						
Kan-tcati						
Otciapofa		N(h)				
Tulsa Little River	N(w)	N(w)				
Lutcapoga						
Okfuskee	S(y)					
Tcatoksofka	N, S					
Abihkutci				S(y)		
Nuyaka						
Talmutcasi						
Pakan tallahassee	S(h)			N(c)		
Wiogufki	S(w) W(c)					
Tukpafka						
Asilanabi	S(h)					
Okchai						
Łałogalga						
Wiwohka		W(c)		W(c)		
Tuskegee						
Koasati No. 1						
Koasati No. 2						
Tukabahchee	E(y)					
Atasi						
Kealedji	S(h)				E(h)	
Łapläko	E(y)	E(y)		S(h)		
Łiwahali						
Hilibi	W(c)					
Upper Eufaula	E(h)					
Eufaula Hobayi			W(c)		(N(h))	
Alabama						
Kasihta				N(w)	W(c)	S(h)
Hitchiti						
Okmulgee				N(w)	W(c)	
Apalachicola			E(h)	(W(c))	(N(w))	E(h)(W (c))
Yuchi [1]						
Coweta						
Łikatcka						
Chiaha					(S(w))	
Osochi			(N(w))	N(w)(S(h))	N(w)(S(h))	
SEMINOLE TOWNS						
Ochesee			S(h)		W(c)	
Okfuskee		N(w)	N(w)			
Tallahassutci	N(w)		S(h)			
Hitchiti						
Eufaula			W(c)			
Łiwahali		N(h)	S(w)			
Chiaha						
Mikasuki						

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[1] The seating is not by clans.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

344
554
614
621

Town	Skunk	Fox	Eagle	Woksi	Miscellaneous
Talladega					
Abihka					
Abihka-in-the-West					
Kan-tcati					
Otciapofa					
Tulsa Little River			S(h)		
Lutcapoga			S(w)		N(h) (Toowastă)
Okfuskee					
Tcatoksofka			W(c)		
Abihkutci	E(h)	S(y)	S(y)		
Nuyaka					
Talmutcasi					
Pakan tallahassee					
Wiogufki					
Tukpafka					
Asilanabi					
Okchai					
Łalogalga					
Wiwohka	N(h)				
Tuskegee					
Koasati No. 1					
Koasati No. 2					
Tukabahchee	W(c)(?)				
Atasi					
Kealedji		N(w)		S(h)	N(w) (Cane and Ładjami)
Łapiłko					
Łiwahali					
Hilibi					
Upper Eufaula					
Eufaula Hobayi		(N(h))			
Alabama		N(w)			(W(c)(S(h)) (Fish)
Kasihta					
Hitchiti					
Okmulgee		S(h)			
Apalachicola					W(c) (Toad(?))
Yuchi [1]					
Cowota					
Łikatcka					
Chiaha	(W(c))	S(c)N(h)			(W(c)) (Fish)
Osotci		W(c)(—)			
SEMINOLE TOWNS					
Ochesee					S(h) (Otter)
Okfuskee					
Tallahassutci					
Hitchiti					S(h) (Toad and Tcokota)
Eufaula					
Łiwahali					
Chiaha					
Mikasuki					W(c) (Otter)

[1] The seating is not by clans.

344
621

The following charts contain all the information that I have been able to obtain regarding the arrangement of the different square grounds, both from my own inquiries and from the writings of earlier investigators. They are of very unequal value and leave much to be desired, but represent about all that it is now possible to find out. In some cases I have given several charts based on the information of a

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNl1 Creek NNl1
Muskogee

344
621

number of different informants; in others we are dependent upon the testimony of only one or two of the oldest people and not much reliance can be placed upon it. I give the Lower Creek square first, then the Upper Creek squares, and finally the Seminole squares, the squares in White towns having precedence in each case. Names of White clans have been underlined when the native responsible for the plan in question furnished information on the subject.

The first plan (fig. 6) gives the square of Talladega.

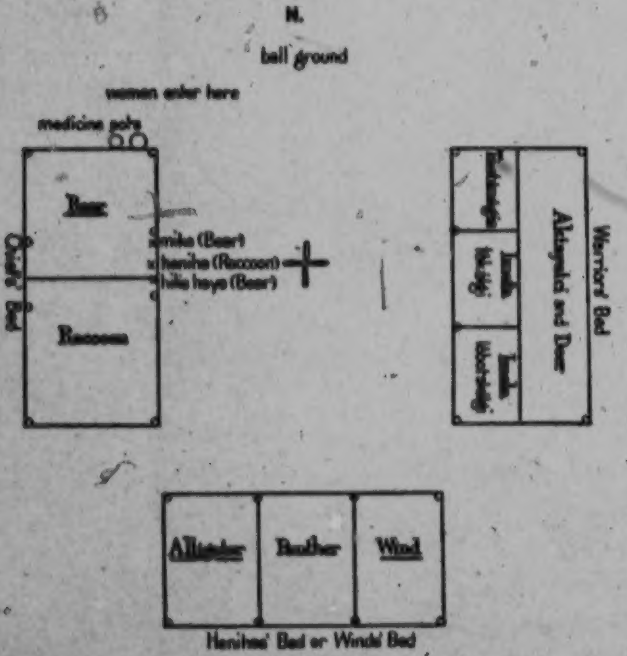
N.
ball ground
women enter here
medicine pots
Bear
Raccoon
Chiefs' Bed
miko (Bear)
henihə (Raccoon)
hilis haya (Bear)
Warriors' Bed
Aktayatci and Deer
Alligator
Panther
Wind
Henihas' Bed or Winds' Bed

FIG. 6.—Plan of the Talladega Square Ground

This represents the proper theoretical arrangement. Actually the Bear and Raccoon people were mixed somewhat indiscriminately in the west bed. Although the Raccoon people are now the henihálgi it is understood that those of the Wind clan should fill that office, not only here but in every other town. The hilis-haya should be a Bear, as represented above, but in practice any qualified man might be selected, regardless of clan.

One medicine pot contained miko hoyanidja, the other a mixture consisting of may-apple roots, wormseed, totka djuk-hisi ("fire-bed moss"), wio'fa fá'ki saigi'ngi ("dirt snatched up"), tcato hátkutci ("little white [granite] rocks"), and totka hi'liswa ("fire medicine").

344
621

These were for the ordinary stomp dances. At the busk a pot of pasa was added. There were about three i'sti átca'gági in each bed. There was no head man among the tástánágis; all were called in council by the miko when it was necessary to remodel the ground or undertake any other matter of the sort. The accompanying plan of the entire Talladega ground (fig. 7) was made by the writer in 1912.

Figure 8 shows the old Abihka ground near Eufaula, Okla. The chieftainship in this town alternated between the Raccoon and Bear clans, the second chief being of the Bear when the head chief was from the Raccoon and vice versa. When the head chief died, the second chief took his place. This square ground was given up when my informant was a boy. He stated that here, or possibly at one of the other Abihka grounds, there was a tcokofa toward the east.

Figure 9 gives Abihka-in-the-West. There were two pots of medicine, one containing 10 different ingredients. The cold medicine was left just where it was first prepared; the other was moved over to the north side of the fire. There were three or four i'sti átca'gági in the Warriors' bed and some at each post in the Winds' bed. The i'sti átca'gági decided where and when a ball game was to be played. The tástánágis and imalas, at least the big imalas, had their own chiefs distinct from the i'sti átca'gági. There were no tcukolaidji, male managers of the women's dance.

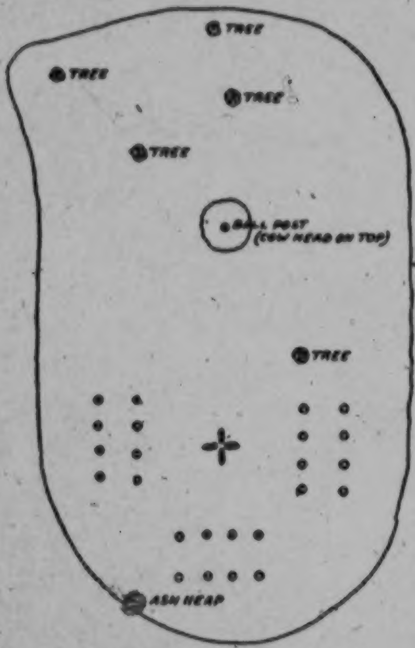

FIG. 7.—Talladega Ceremonial Ground (including Square) in 1912

Figure 10 is Kan-tcati.

The only information we have regarding the square ground of the ancient Coosa town is given by Adair, who says in a footnote: "I remember, in Koosah, the uppermost western town of the Muskohge, which was a place of refuge, their supposed holiest consisted of a neat house, in the centre of the western square, and the door of it was in the south gable-end close to the white cabbin, each

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

344
621

on a direct line, north and south." [8] The passage to which this is appended contains the description of a square ground so generalized that it is impossible to say to what town or towns it applied specifically. Possibly it gives the old order of the Chickasaw square, but it is probable, in any case, that the Coosa square agreed with it, since that was one of those with which Adair was most familiar. It lay upon the trail between Augusta, Ga., and the Chickasaw country. His remarks are as follows: "Those of them [the American aborigines] who yet retain a supposed most holy place, contrary to the usage of the old heathen world, have it standing at the west end of the holy quadrangular ground: and they always appoint those of the meanest rank, to sit on the seats of the eastern square, so that their backs are to the east, and faces to the west. The red square looks north; and the second men's cabbin, as the traders term the other square, of course looks south." It is to be noted that Adair uses the word "square" for each cabin or bed. Accepting this as the arrangement at Coosa, the square would be about as in Figure 11.

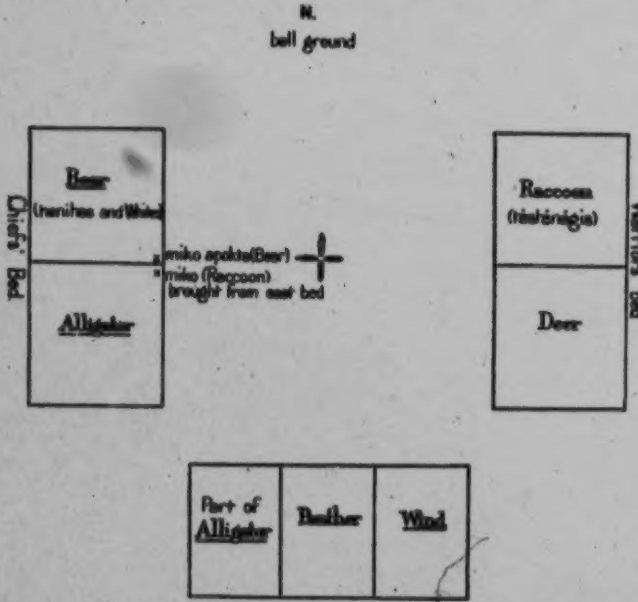
N.
bell ground
Bear
(henihas and Wind)
Chiefs' Bed
miko apokta(Bear)
miko (Raccoon)
brought from east bed
Alligator
Raccoon
(tastanagis)
Warriors' Bed
Deer
Part of
Alligator
Beaver
Wind

FIG. 8.—Plan of the Abihka Square Ground (near Eufaula, Okla.)

It is possible that Adair means by "looks north" and "looks south," "lies north" and "lies south," in which case the relative positions of the henihas' and warriors' beds would have to be trans-

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[8] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 112.

344
621

posed. Be that as it may, the description shows that the Coosa square was very similar to those of the Coweta and Kasihta, the other principal towns of pure Muskogee stock, and it seems to be confirmed by what we know of the daughter town Otciapofa. The inclosed place where the sacred vessels and other objects were kept may not have extended to the very front of the west bed as I have represented, but such a position is plainly indicated by the wording in Adair.

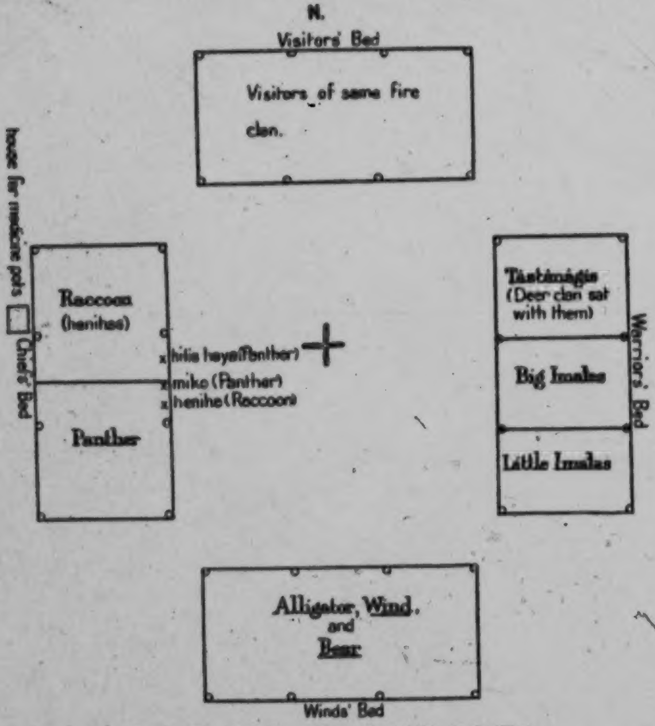

N.
Visitors' Bed
Visitors of same fire clan.
house for medicine pots
Chiefs' Bed
Raccoon (henihas)
Panther
x hilis haya (Panther)
x miko (Panther)
x henihe (Raccoon)
Tàstànàgis (Deer clan sat with them)
Big Imalas
Little Imalas
Warriors' Bed
Alligator, Wind, and Bear
Winds' Bed

FIG. 9.—Plan of the Square Ground of Abihka-in-the-West

In Figure 12 is what is probably the Otciapofa ground, reproduced from Swan. Figure 13 shows the later plan of Otciapofa as described to me personally. Four isti àtcagàgis sat in each of these three beds; there was no south bed as far back as my informant could remember. The plan of the Otciapofa busk ground (fig. 14) was made by the writer in 1912.

In Figure 15 is shown the Tulsa Little River square.

There were very few of the Panther clan in this town, and but one or two belonging to the Kapitca. The old tcokofa is said to have lain to the west, probably in the same situation as that of Lutcapoga.

Figure 16 shows the square as it existed in 1911.

Figure 17 is from a rough native description of Tulsa Canadian.

Figures 18 and 19 show the arrangement of Lutcapoga according to two different authorities. The data for the first were given me by Legus Perryman, except that the east bed and the tcokofa are added on the authority of his brother. The latter also stated that the Aktayatci were the tástánágis here, and that the hilis-haya sat in the front seat in the Bear's bed.

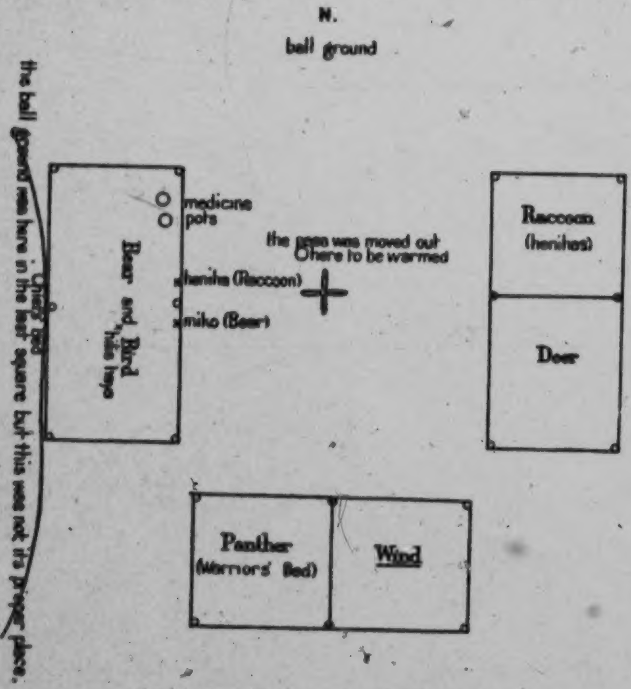

N.
ball ground
the ball ground was here in the last square but this was not its proper place.
Chiefs' bed
Bear and Bird
hilis haya
medicine
pots
the pots was moved out
here to be warmed
heniha (Raccoon)
miko (Bear)
Raccoon
(henihas)
Deer
Panther
(Warriors' Bed)
Wind

FIG. 19.—Plan of the Square Ground of Kan-tcati

This town was founded because the Tulsa people had become so numerous that their square was overcrowded. The tástánági was speaker for the miko, and the words "he says so and so" occurred over and over in his discourses. The itàlwa miko was assistant to the miko. The táski heniha was a leader in the women's dance, a "white dance" called itcha obánga.[illegible] There was another women's dance at the end of the ceremony which was a war dance danced by the Potato

---

[illegible] See p. [illegible] in following paper. Originally it seems to have been a war dance.

people (Ahalȧgi). The Aktayatci had charge of and distributed the medicine, although the hilis-haya himself could belong to any clan.

The old tcokofa was provided on the east side with a special seat for the women. It had a smoke hole.

The chief of Lụtcapoga about 1852 was a man named Hadji yȧhola, who was succeeded by Tciyāha. This man died about 1857 and was followed by Tȧlsi fiksiko, who died in the winter of 1862.

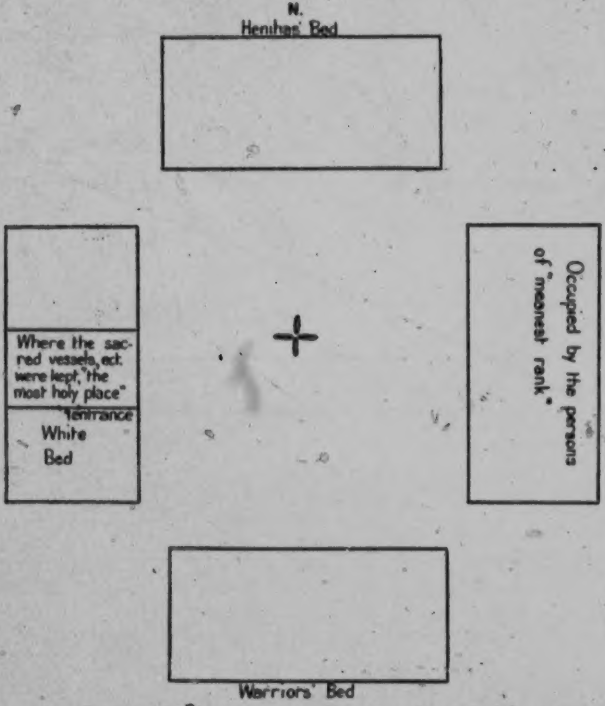

N.
Henihas' Bed
Where the sacred vessels, ect. were kept, "the most holy place"
entrance
White Bed
Occupied by the persons of "meanest rank"
Warriors' Bed

FIG. 11.—Conjectural arrangement of the Coosa Square Ground

Next came in succession Miko fiksiko and Itchāswa (Beaver). The last was living in 1912.

Figure 20 is Nuyaka. My informant stated that there were only two individuals belonging to the Panther clan in this town, and that no especial place was provided for the Deer clan. Figure 21 is a plan of the entire busk ground as it appeared in 1912.

Figure 22 is from a native description of Okfuskee.

There were very few in this town belonging to the Potato and Raccoon clans and they probably sat in the south bed. Besides the two isti ȧtcagȧgi in the east bed there was one in each of the others.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Muskogee

344

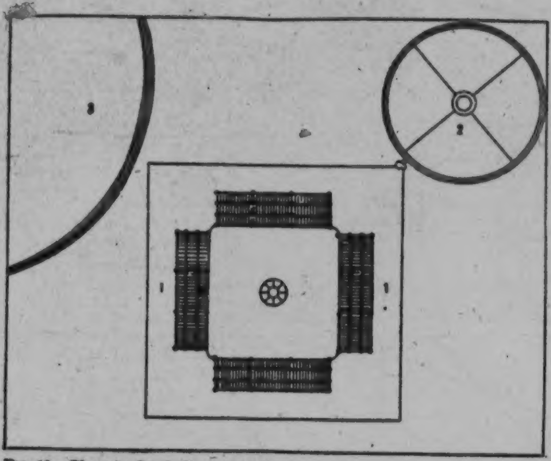


FIG. 12.—Plan of a Creek Ceremonial Ground as given by Swan. The top of this illustration is west instead of north. 1, Square; 2, Tcokofa; 3, Chunkey yard

344
621

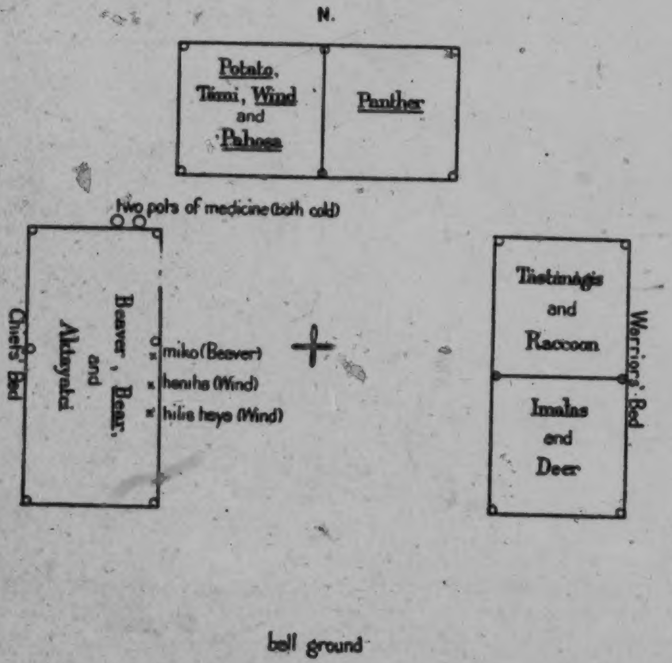

N.
Potato, Timi, Wind and Pahosa
Panther
two pots of medicine (both cold)
Beaver, Bear, and Aktayatci
Chiefs' Bed
miko (Beaver)
heniha (Wind)
hilis haya (Wind)
Tastanagis and Raccoon
Imalas and Deer
Warriors' Bed
ball ground

FIG. 13.—Plan of the Otciapofa Square Ground

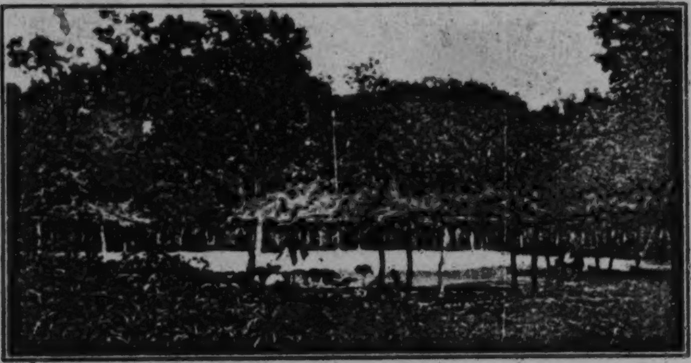
1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee
Seminole NN16

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY FORTY-SECOND ANNUAL REPORT PLATE 2

s.
344

a. General view of the Busk Ground of Chiaha Seminole, Seminole County, Okla., in 1912

c.
344



b. The Square Ground of Pakan tallahassee near Hanna, Okla., in 1912

c. The North or Chiefs' Bed of Pakan tallahassee

CREEK CEREMONIAL OR BUSK GROUNDS

[facing p. 212]

344
621
In the adiloga medicine they used maypop root (obaha), totka hiliswa, wilana (wormseed), and totka djukhisi (fire bed moss). The miko hoyanidja did not go in with these.

Figure 23 is Abihkutci and Figure 24 contains all of the information I could obtain regarding Talmutcasi.

The younger brother of the woman from whom this information came gave a different description of the square, but it was so close to that of Tukabahchee that I believe it can not be relied upon, and that it was a deduction from the belief that all of the other squares were modeled on that of Tukabahchee.

The next (fig. 25) shows Tcatoksofka. The rank of clans in the west bed is said to have been as follows: Bear, Beaver, Bird. Visiting chiefs were seated in the same beds as the chiefs of the town, visiting warriors in the same beds as the warriors, and so on. The occupants of the Chiefs' bed took their medicine first, then those in the east bed, and finally those in the north and south beds. The two common medicines, miko hoyanidja and pasa, were used.

Figures 26 and 27 give the plan of Pakan tallahassee as recorded from two different informants. The numbers back of the beds indicate the order in which their occupants came out to take the medicine. According to one informant the third and fourth chiefs belonged to the Bear clan instead of the Panther clan as here given; another stated that the Panther people were not confined to a particular part of the Chiefs' bed but could sit anywhere. The bearers of the medicine consisted of two of the Bird clan, one of the Deer, and one of the Bear. The four leaders of the women were taken, one each, from the Wind, Deer, Bear, and Bird clans. They took their medicine at the northeast corner and fasted one day and one night.

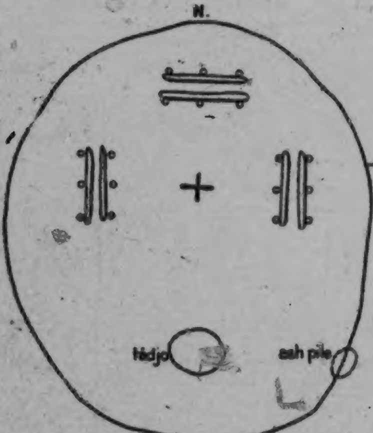


Fig. 14 —Otciapofa Ceremonial Ground in 1912

My authority for the second plan stated that the people of the Bird clan were called isti åtcagági, and that imalas are not used any more.

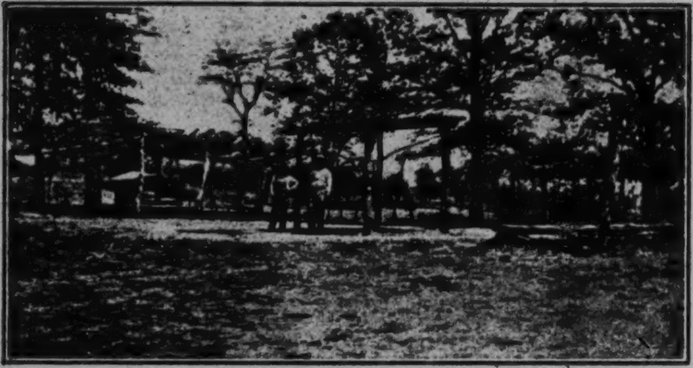
The accompanying plan of this ground (fig. 28) is from data obtained in 1912.

~~Plate~~ 2 is shown the Pakan tallahassee busk ground looking east (*b*) and ~~the north~~ or Chiefs' bed (*c*) as they appeared in the summer of 1912.

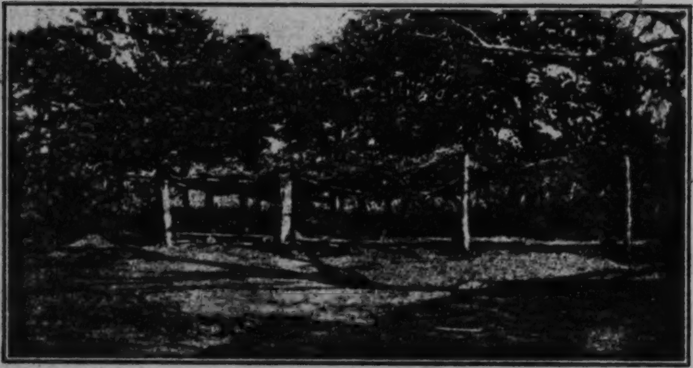
1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Muskogee

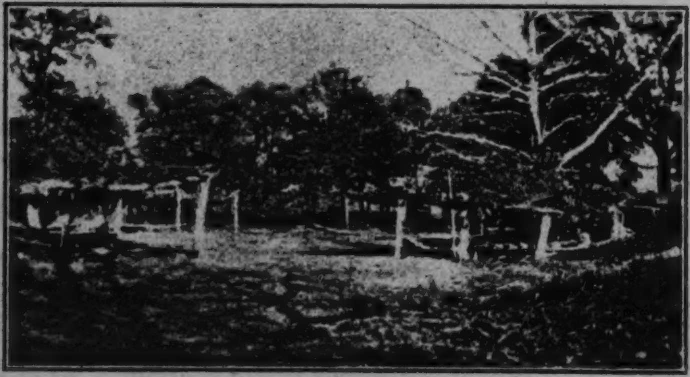
344



a. The Square Ground of Eufaula (1912)



b. The south (or southeast) bed of Tukabahchee



c. Tukabahchee Square Ground from the west entrance

CREEK CEREMONIAL GROUNDS

[facing p. 213]

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Muskogee

344
621

Figures 29 and 30 show the organization of Wiogufki according to two different informants. In later times the Alligator people became first henihas and then mikos. There is now but one tástánági, who is seated as indicated in the first plan. When the former hilis-haya was about to die he taught the proper formulae to a boy of the Deer clan who happened to be the best fitted for this office. There were no isti átcagági in recent times, the tástánági being used as a "choice man." In this town a new seat was made for the hilis-haya every year.

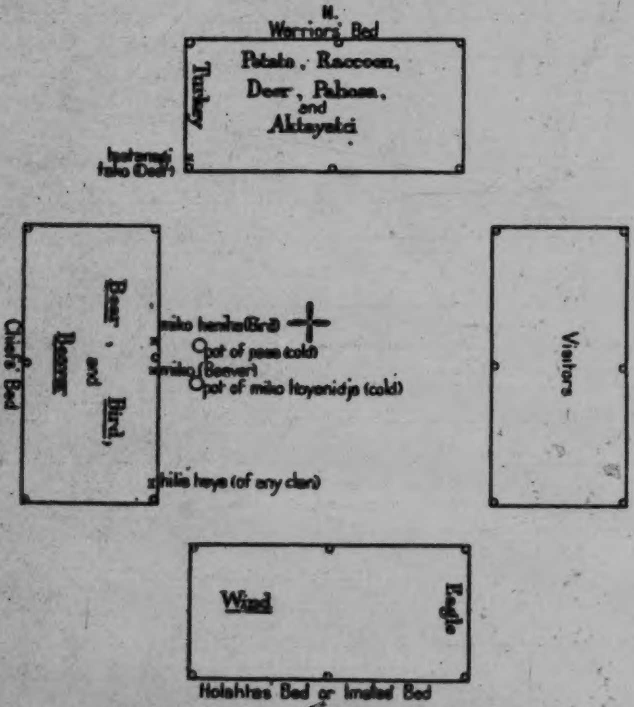

N.
Warriors' Bed
Potato, Raccoon,
Deer, Pahosa,
and
Aktayatci
Turkey
tastanagi
tako (Deer)
Chief's Bed
Bear, Beaver and Bird,
miko henihas (Bird)
pot of pasa (cold)
miko (Beaver)
pot of miko hoyanidja (cold)
hilis haya (of any clan)
Visitors
Wind
Eagle
Holahtas Bed or Imalas Bed

FIG. 15.—Plan of the Square Ground of Tulsa Little River

The subjoined plan of the Wiogufki square ground (fig. 31) is from data gathered in 1912.

The next sketch (fig. 32) contains all that the old men could remember of Tukpafka. This square ground was given up many years ago. My two informants agreed very well regarding most of the details of the plan, except that one of them thought the medicine pots were placed at the north end of the west bed and the other believed they were at the south end.

Muskogee
Alabama

344
621

Besides the clans enumerated above there were some Raccoon and Potato and in ancient times some Beaver. There were never any Alligator, Bear, or Bird. Two men sang for the women when they danced, one man carrying a white gourd rattle, the other a blue one.

Figure 33 is a rough diagram based on a study of the site of the last Tukpafka square ground. We now come to the Fish Pond Towns. Figure 34 shows Asilanabi.

Besides the clans given there were a few individuals belonging to the Aktayatci clan, but these sat anywhere. The Raccoon clan were leaders of the Tcilokis and were followed in order of rank by the Panther, Deer, Beaver, Aktayatci, and Alligator in succession. The old tcokofa was placed as in the plan, to the northwest of the square, but after they returned at the conclusion of the Civil War, an old man who had preserved ashes from the tcokofa throughout that contest said that it would not be good to use the old place again, so he deposited the ashes just east of the east bed. It does not appear, however, that a new tcokofa was erected over them. It is said that in reality there ought to be three beds, each having eight posts, instead of the four with six posts. The one left out was probably that on the east. The accompanying plan of this square (fig. 35) is from data gathered in 1912 by the author.

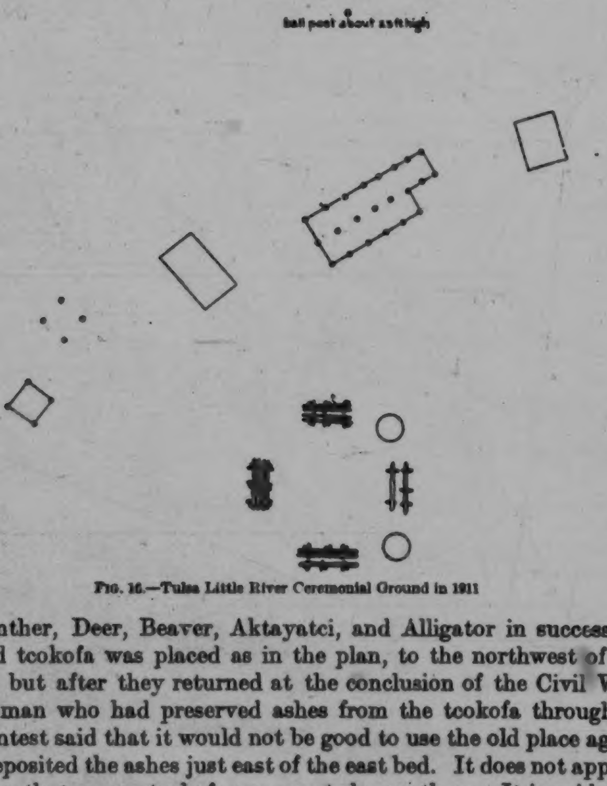


FIG. 16.—Tulsa Little River Ceremonial Ground in 1911

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NNll Creek NNll

344
621

Figure 36 is Okchai. According to my informant, the Wind clan were known as isti ȧtcagȧgi. He stated that the tȧstȧnȧgis could overrule the miko sometimes on the ground that a thing was unconstitutional.

The plan shown in Figure 37 represents the square ground as it existed in 1911–12.

Figure 38 is Łȧlogȧlga or Fish Pond proper.

According to another informant—in whom I do not, however, place unlimited confidence—the east bed was used for visitors, and the north bed occupied throughout by the Deer clan. He placed the Aktayatci and Tȧmi in the northern compartment of the west bed, the Pahosa and Potato in the middle section, and "old people" in the southern. The medicine pots were at the north end of the same bed, and the pot of medicine for the women and children was at the south end of this bed; the women also entered to dance at the latter place. In the south bed were the rest of the clans, the henihas being in the easternmost section. In Figure 39 is a plan of the Łȧlogȧlga square as it existed in 1912.

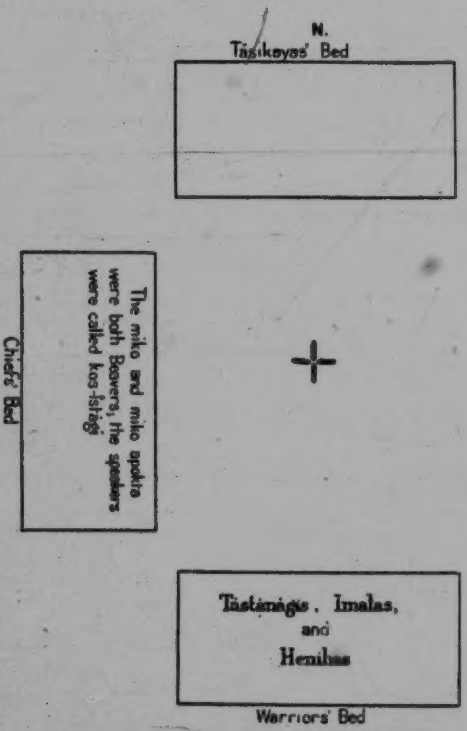

N.
Tȧsikeyas' Bed
The miko and miko apokta were both Beavers, the speakers were called kos-ístȧgi
Chief's Bed
Tȧstȧnȧgis, Imalas, and Henihas
Warriors' Bed

FIG. 17.—Plan of the Square Ground of Tulsa Canadian

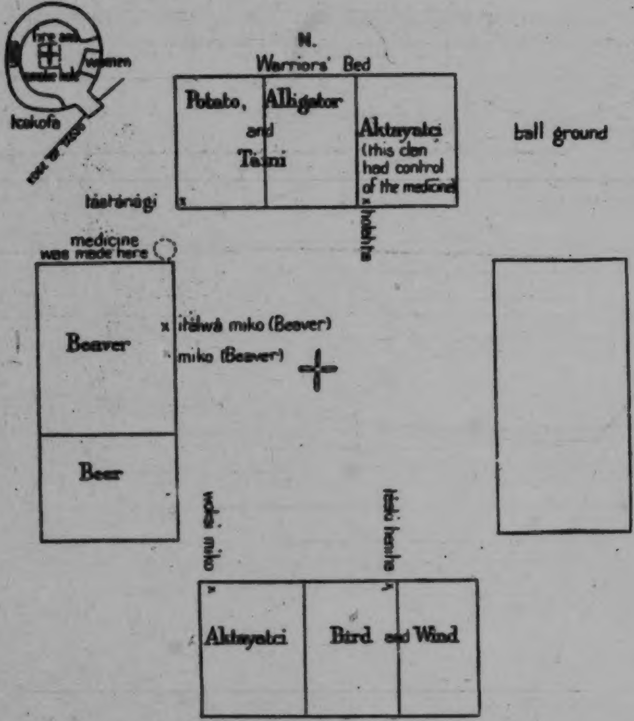
Figures 40 and 41 show Wiwohka. The essential differences between these two plans of the square may be explained if we suppose that the second informant, or my interpreter, misunderstood the location of the north bed and placed it on the south side. The correctness of the first plan is confirmed by a third account which in other respects is inferior to either of those given. The only other discrepancy is in the position of the Wind clan which the first informant placed in the north bed and the second in the west bed. This was perhaps due to an assumption on the part of the second informant

Muskogee
Tuskegee

344
621

that the henihas would be seated in the same bed as the miko's heniha. My third informant also committed an evident blunder in placing the Chief's bed to the east instead of the west. All three agreed in giving the Panther clan as that of the chiefs and the Wind clan that of the henihas.

In Figure 42 is a plan of Tuskegee by one of its former chiefs. One informant thought that the Potato were the henihas, but I believe this to have been a mistake. It is probable that the Wind clan originally constituted the henihas but subsequently came to furnish the chiefs.



women
kakofa
N.
Warriors' Bed
Potato,
and
Tāmi
Alligator
Aktayatci
(this clan had control of the medicine)
ball ground
tastanagi
hobohita
medicine was made here
itcâwa miko (Beaver)
miko (Beaver)
Beaver
Bear
miko
heniha
Aktayatci
Bird
and Wind

FIG. 15.—Plan of the Lutcapoga Square Ground (I)

Figure 43 is the square ground of the same town as remembered by another informant. The plan given by Doctor Speck on the authority of Leslie Cloud confirms both of the preceding in the main in regard to the uses to which the various beds were put, and it confirms that of the first informant, Silas Jefferson, in regard to the position occupied by the medicine pots.[4]

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[4] Speck in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 112.

Alabama
Muskogee

344
621

There were two groups of Koasati Indians in Oklahoma, each with its own square ground. The square of the first, called Koasati No. 1, was given up so long ago that not much can be recalled regarding it. David Cummings, who attended the busks at this ground when he was a boy, although he was not a Koasati himself, stated that there were four beds, and that the open space between them was entirely covered with an arbor. The Chief's bed, as he remembered, was on the south, and the miko himself of either the Bear or the Panther clan. The Wind clan sat at the east end of the Chief's bed and were probably the henihas, though of this he was not certain. The ball ground was on the east and the women entered at the southeast corner. The Warriors' bed was probably on the east.

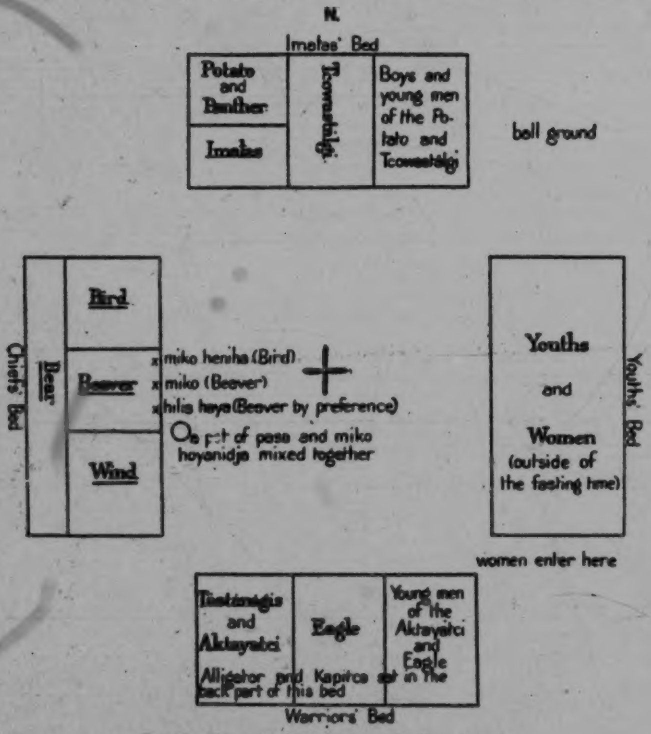

N.
Imalas' Bed
Potato and Panther
Imalas
Tcowastalgi
Boys and young men of the Potato and Tcowastalgi
ball ground
Chief's Bed
Bear
Bird
Beaver
Wind
x miko heniha (Bird)
x miko (Beaver)
x hilis haya (Beaver by preference)
O a part of pasa and miko hoyanidja mixed together
Youths and Women (outside of the fasting time)
Youths' Bed
women enter here
Tastanagis and Aktayatci
Alligator and Kapitca sat in the back part of this bed
Eagle
Young men of the Aktayatci and Eagle
Warriors' Bed

FIG. 19.—Plan of the Lutcapoga Square Ground (II)

The later square, Koasati No. 2, is shown in Figure 44.

Figures 45–47 are plans of the Tukabahchee square ground from as many different informants. The first said that if it were possible the hilis-haya was selected from the Raccoon clan; if that position is

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Muskogee

344
621

filled from any other clan, the man so chosen is seated at the west end of the north bed. The tcunuk hadjo and the holahta in the Youths' section are the only officers who do not have henihas. One of the tástanágis was known as Kosa Tástanági. He belonged to the Wind clan, and his mate was a Raccoon called Tukabahchee Tástanági. The Youths prepared the feather wands for the feather dance just back of the central portion of the Chiefs' bed.

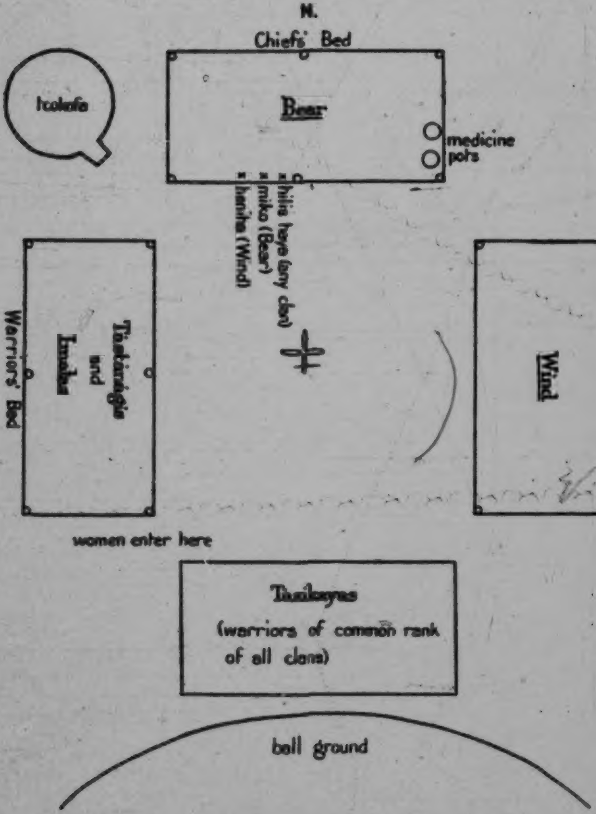

N.
Chiefs' Bed
Tcokofa
Bear
medicine pots
hilis haya (any clan)
miko (Bear)
heniha (Wind)
Tástanágis and Imalas
Warriors' Bed
Wind
women enter here
Tasikayas (warriors of common rank of all clans)
ball ground

FIG. 47.—Plan of the Nuyaka Square Ground

According to the second informant the clans might change their positions in a bed but not the bed itself, and according to the third all of the clans in the north, east, and south beds were Tcilokis.

Figure 48 is a plan of the busk ground made in 1912.

Figure 49 gives the arrangement of the old busk ground near Melette, Okla., as nearly as it could be made out in 1912–1914. Plate

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

344
621

3, *b*, shows the south or southeast bed of Tukabahchee and Plate 3, *c*, the square looking through the western entrance, between the beds of the Chiefs and Warriors. Plate 5, *a*, shows the mound where the buffalo and war dances were performed.

Figures 50 and 51 are based on the recollections of two of the oldest and best informed Atasi Indians. The father of the man who furnished me with the information on which the first is based was chief of Atasi; his war name was Fus hâtci miko.

Still another informant said that the Chiefs' bed was in the west and the Warriors' bed in the north, and that the medicine pots were at the north end of the former. The details given thus agree exactly with the arrangement of Tukabahchee with which I believe the informant had confused it, since Atasi is supposed to have been a branch of that town. He said that the medicines were like those used at Tukabahchee, and that the last chief was of the Bird clan, the one before him of the Bear clan. According to another informant the last chief was a Raccoon, the one before probably a Bear; and he added that the last chief's heniha was a Bear, the one before a Deer.

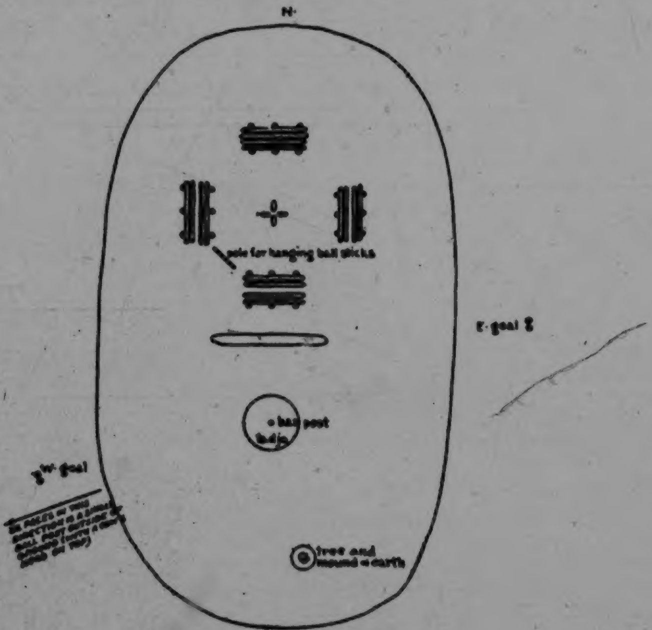


FIG. 21.—Nuyaka Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Figures 52 and 53 embody two descriptions of the square of Kealedji. The isti âtcagâgi sulga sat at the south end of the Chief's bed.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

344
621

Accompanying is a rough sketch (fig. 54) of the first square ground used by the people of this town after they moved across the Mississippi River as it appeared in 1912 after having been abandoned a great many years.

The Łapłako square is shown in Figures 55 and 56. There were a few isti atcagagi in the west bed.

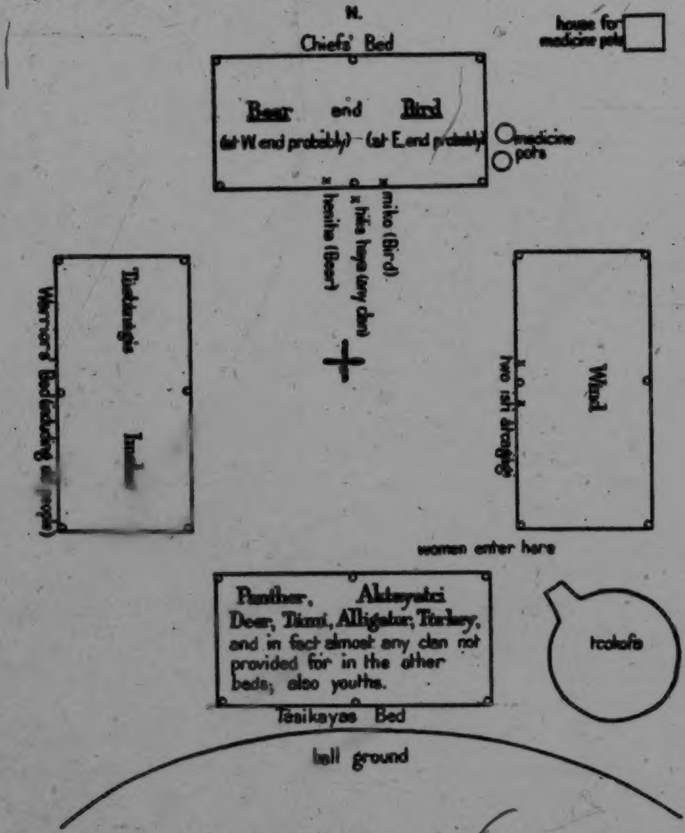

N.
house for medicine pole
Chiefs' Bed
Bear and Bird
(at W end probably) (at E end probably)
medicine pots
hiniha (Bear)
hila hayo (any clan)
miko (Bird)
Warriors' Bed (including all people)
Wind
two isti atcagagi
women enter here
Panther, Aktayatci
Deer, Tamí, Alligator, Turkey, and in fact almost any clan not provided for in the other beds; also youths.
Tcokofa
Tasikayas Bed
ball ground

FIG. 22.—Plan of the Okfuskee Square Ground

According to my second informant eight men belonging to the Wind and Raccoon clans were appointed to procure the medicines and bring the water.

The discrepancies between these two plans may be accounted for largely by the fact that my second informant was a Tukabahchee who seems to have confused the Łapłako square with that of his own town to some extent. However, the arrangement of the Tukabah-

Muskogee

344
621

chee square was considered "standard" by many people, and it is probable that that of Łaplako was modified in later times to agree with it. The second informant also stated that the Chiefs' bed was on the south, again in agreement with the Tukabahchee plan, although in fact the latter is rather southwest, the entrances between the beds being directed toward the cardinal points. Accompanying (fig. 57) is a rough plan of the ground where the people of this town met before a ball game.

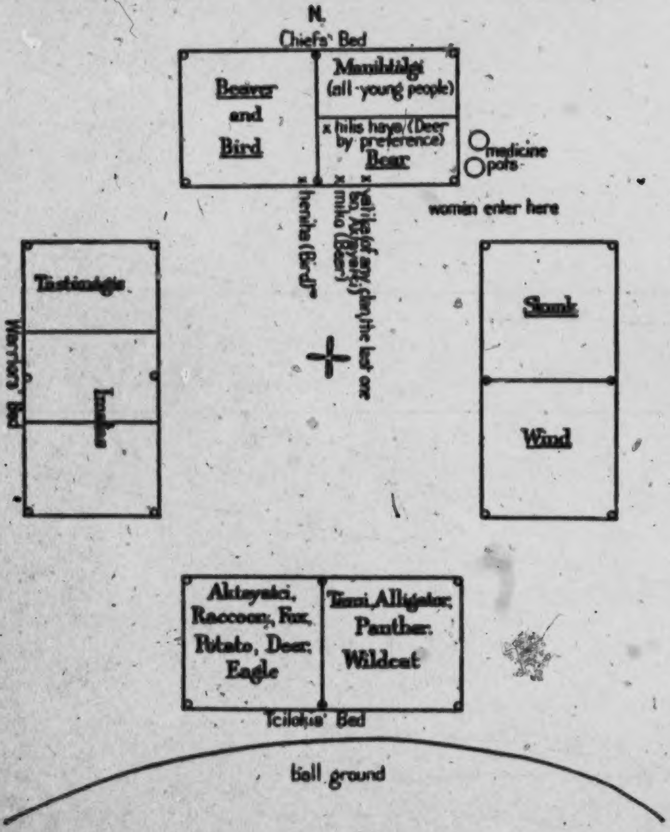

N.
Chiefs' Bed
Beaver
and
Bird
Manihtalgi
(all young people)
x hilis haya (Deer by preference)
Bear
medicine
pots
women enter here
x heniha (Bird)
x miko (Bear)
x yaholas (of any clan) the last one
Tastanagis
Warriors' Bed
Inulas
Skunk
Wind
Aktayatci,
Raccoon, Fox,
Potato, Deer,
Eagle
Tamal, Alligator,
Panther,
Wildcat
Tcilokis' Bed
ball ground

FIG. 57.—Plan of the Abihkutci Square Ground

Figure 58 shows the last organization of the Łiwahali square just before it petered out. The hilis-haya was always of the Deer clan and sat with his own people. This ground, as here represented, was in the last stage of decline, and not much can be inferred from it. The old man who furnished me with the best data regarding Łaplako,

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Muskogee

344
621

a comparatively late offshoot from Łiwahali, stated that the latter ground was originally identical with that of Łaplako except that the miko was a Panther and the heniha a Deer.

This town used several squares in succession before the Civil War, and two afterwards. My informant stated that the tastanagis were appointed from any clans occupying the south bed. If the miko had to leave the square for any reason the miko apokta took charge.

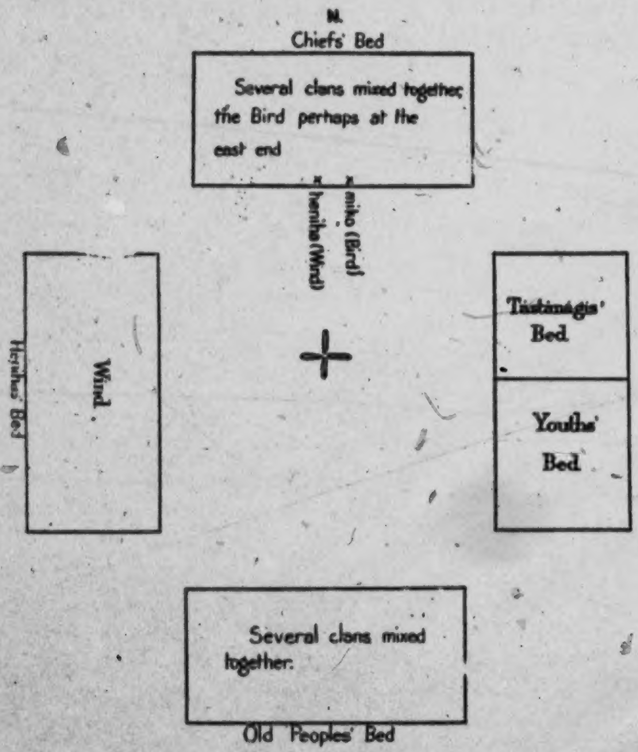

N.
Chiefs' Bed
Several clans mixed together, the Bird perhaps at the east end
miko (Bird)
heniha (Wind)
Henihas' Bed
Wind
Tastanagis' Bed
Youths' Bed
Several clans mixed together.
Old Peoples' Bed

FIG. 24.—Plan of the Talmutcasi Square Ground

The ball ground was not close to the square but at some distance from it. He stated that the clans ranked thus: Deer, Aktayatci, Panther, Bird, Bear, Wind, Alligator. There was only one individual of the Wind clan and there were but few of the Bird, Bear, and Alligator.

The Hilibi square is given in Figure 59. Anciently there were eight posts to the bed instead of six. When I first visited the Hilibi square the north bed had not been built; it was put up last. The old men who sing for the women during their dance sit at the west

344
621

end of the Raccoon's section of the south bed. In taking medicine the west bed goes first, then the south, and then the east, but some men in the back part of all the beds go last of all. The accompanying plan (fig. 60) is from data collected by the writer in the winter of 1912 before the north bed was erected.

There were some eight camps about this ground. It was too new to have developed a tádjo of any size, but that of the ground occupied immediately before this was about 220 paces in circuit. If a tcokofa were to be erected it would be toward the east. Plate 4, *b*, shows the Chiefs' bed in 1912.

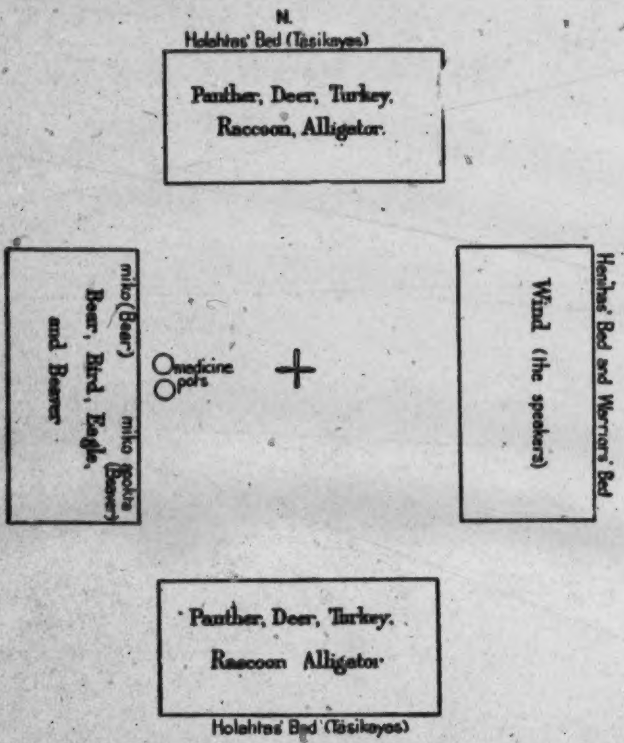

N.
Holahtas' Bed (Täsikayas)
Panther, Deer, Turkey.
Raccoon, Alligator.
miko (Bear)
Bear, Bird, Eagle,
and Beaver
miko gokla (Beaver)
medicine pots
Wind (the speakers)
Henihas' Bed and Warriors' Bed
Panther, Deer, Turkey.
Raccoon Alligator
Holahtas' Bed (Täsikayas)

Fig. 25.—Plan of the Tcatoksofka Square Ground

Figure 61 represents the Eufaula (or Upper Eufaula) square as it is supposed to have appeared anciently, my authority being Jackson Lewis.

Figure 62 shows the actual arrangement in modern times as explained by the hilis-haya.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

344
621

There were said to be only seven Tämi and three Turkey people in this town. The imalas should be of the Raccoon clan but there never were any in Eufaula, according to the second informant. He probably meant that there had been none there within his recollection. The Hathagâlgi included the Wind, Bear, Bird, Turkey, and Tämi. There is one of the isti âtcagâgi belonging to the Bear clan in the north bed, one belonging to the Deer clan in the east bed, and one belonging to the Aktayatci in the south bed. These men give new names to boys. A different authority from any of the above stated that the Eufaula chief was anciently taken from the Eagle clan. This might well have been, since the Eagle was reckoned a branch of the Raccoon which, as appears from these plans, sat in the bed of the chiefs. The accompanying plan of this ground (fig. 63) represents it as it existed in 1912.

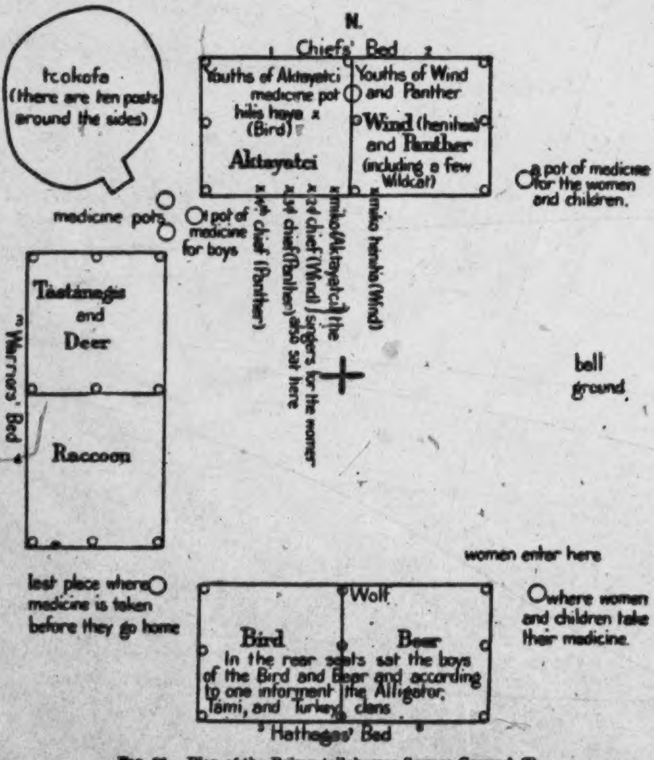
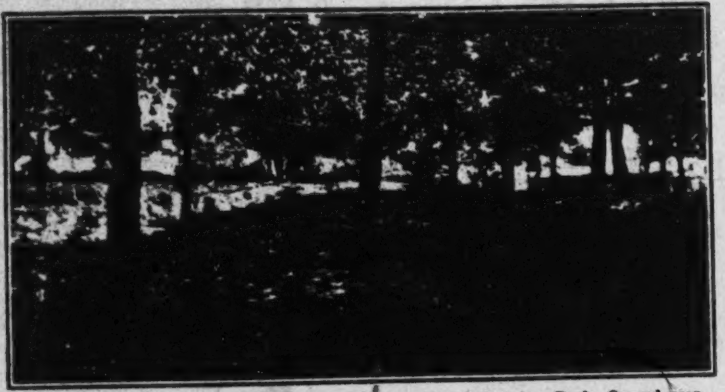

N.
Chiefs' Bed
1
2
tcokofa (there are ten posts around the sides)
Youths of Aktayatci
medicine pot
hilis haya x (Bird)
Aktayatci
Youths of Wind and Panther
Wind (henihas) and Panther (including a few Wildcat)
pot of medicine for the women and children.
medicine pots
pot of medicine for boys
x miko (Aktayatci)
x 2d chief (Wind)
x 3d chief (Panther) also sat here
x 4th chief (Panther)
the singers for the women
x miko hanaha (Wind)
Tastanagis and Deer
3
Warriors' Bed
Raccoon
ball ground
women enter here
last place where medicine is taken before they go home
Wolf
Bird
Bear
In the rear seats sat the boys of the Bird and Bear and according to one informant the Alligator, Tämi, and Turkey clans
where women and children take their medicine.
4
Hathagas' Bed

FIG. 38.—Plan of the Pakan tallahassee Square Ground (I)

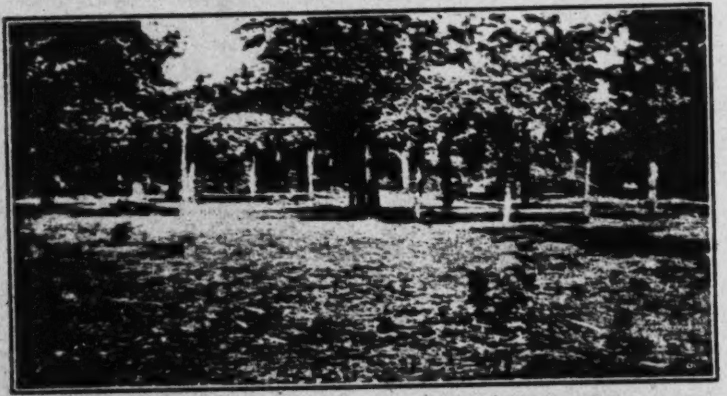
Plate 3, *a*, gives a general view of the ground, looking from the southwest, and Plate 4, *c*, is a nearer view of the small house in which the implements used in the annual ceremony were stored.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NNll Creek NNll
Seminole NN16

C. 344

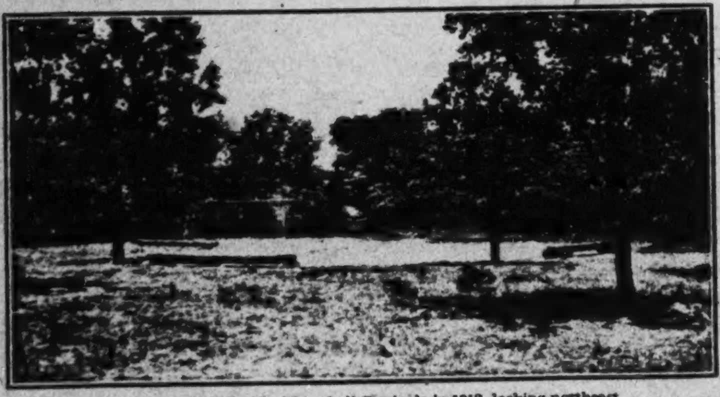


a. Mound for the War and Buffalo dances in the old Tukabahchee Pusk Ground near Melette, Okla.



b. The Alabama Square Ground in the summer of 1912, looking northwest

S. 344



c. The Square Ground of Liwahali Seminole in 1912, looking northeast

CREEK CEREMONIAL GROUNDS

[facing p. 224]

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Alabama
Muskogee

344 ●
621

Figures 64–66 illustrate three descriptions of the Alabama square ground. There were no isti âtcagâgi, the tâstânâgis taking their places. The medicine pots were kept outside of the grounds; ten different medicines were put into one of them.

The accompanying outline of the Alabama busk ground (fig. 67) was made from data collected in 1912.

In Plate 5, *b*, the Alabama square is shown looking from the southeast.

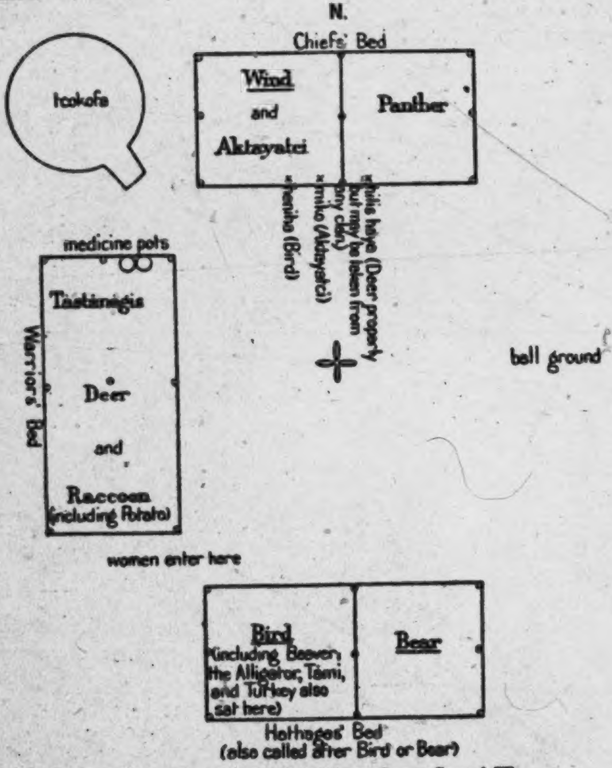

N.
Chiefs' Bed
Wind and Aktayatci
Panther
Itcokofa
atcilis haye (Deer properly but may be taken from any clan)
amiko (Aktayatci)
heniha (Bird)
medicine pots
Tâstânâgis
Warriors' Bed
Deer and Raccoon (including Potato)
ball ground
women enter here
Bird (including Beaver, the Alligator, Tâmi, and Turkey also sat here)
Bear
Hothagas' Bed
(also called after Bird or Bear)

FIG. 67.—Plan of the Pakan tallahassee Square Ground (II)

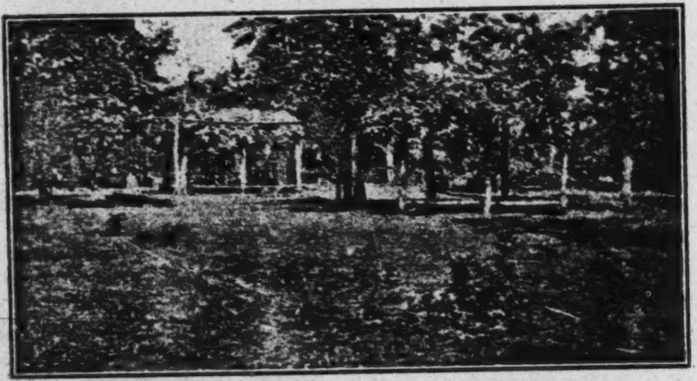
Figures 68–71 show the Kasihta square on the authority of Hawkins, Gatschet, and two of my own informants. Gatschet's informant was probably the Kasihta chief, Ispahihtca. In the origin legend which Ispahihtca related to Doctor Gatschet he calls the west bed Mikâlgi intcuka, Chiefs' House, the east bed Hoktâgi intcuka, Women's House, and the north bed Tâstânâgâlgi intcuka, Warriors' House. Those who sat in the south bed he calls Hâtki iputcagi, "the owners of the white."[illegible]

[illegible] See p. 69.

1; Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

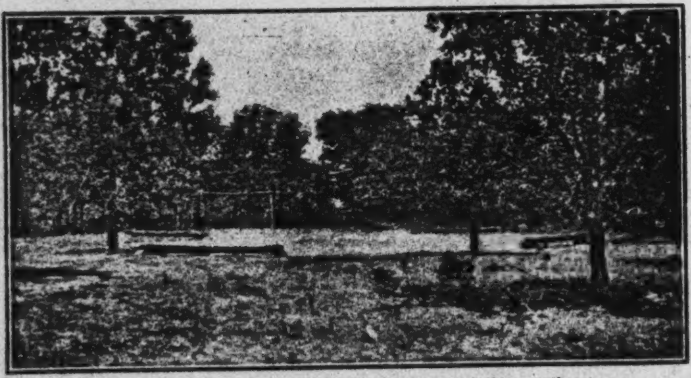
C.
344

a. Mound for the War and Buffalo dances in the old Tukabahchee Busk Ground near Melette, Okla.



b. The Alabama Square Ground in the summer of 1912, looking northwest

S.
344



c. The Square Ground of Liwahali Seminole in 1912, looking northeast

CREEK CEREMONIAL GROUNDS

[facing p. 225]

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee
Hitchiti

344
621

The seat of the hilis-haya was not fixed; he sat with his clan. The two bearers of the medicine belonged to the Alligator clan. The official called halisi tástànàgi made arrangements for the ball games.

The plan of Okmulgee (fig. 72) is from information furnished by Judge James R. Gregory. He added that there were two rows of seats in each bed. Legus Perryman remembered some facts regarding this town which agree for the most part with those here given. He thought, however, that there were only three beds, and that the ball ground was to the northwest. The speechmaker (yatika ?), a man of the Aktayatci clan called Woksi miko, sat at the northwest corner of the south bed.

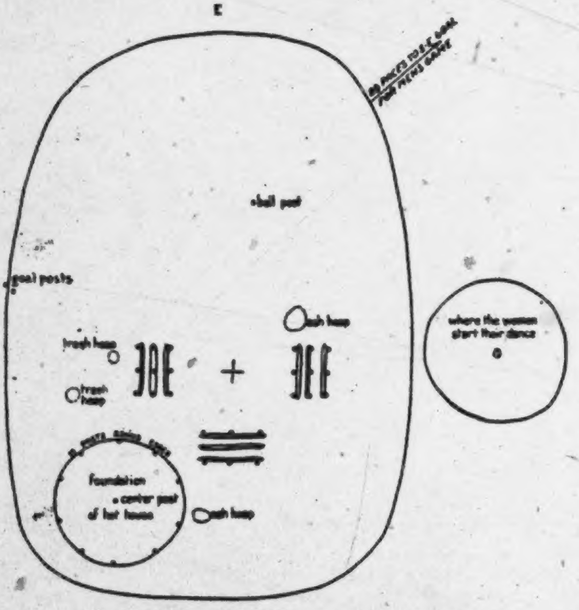


FIG. 28.—Pakan tallahassee Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Figure 73 gives the oldest remembered organization of Apalachicola. My informant, one of the oldest women of this town, added that the Alligator and Beaver shifted about somewhat from one bed to another, while individuals made imałas or tástànàgis moved into the Warriors' bed if they were not already there. She asserted that this was the "original foundation" (or plan) of Hitchiti, Sawokli, and the Lower Creek Hàtci tcàbà, as well as of Apalachicola.

In Figure 74 appears the last organization of this town.

Figure 75 is Hitchiti. In an emergency the Deer heniha could be made miko and the Bird miko heniha. This was the last Hitchiti

Hitchiti
Muskogee
Yuchi
NN20

C.
344
621

square, and the plan was furnished to the Indians by my oftmentioned informant Jackson Lewis. The Deer and Bird clans were actually mixed together considerably, although the theoretical arrangement was as above. There were no women's dances on this particular ground. One medicine pot contained miko hoyanidja; the other wilânâ (wormseed) and "oktcun utcka," the last perhaps a Hitchiti term. The pots were not removed from the place indicated, though one might have been heated there. The tâstânâgis and imalas were used instead of isti âtcagâgi.

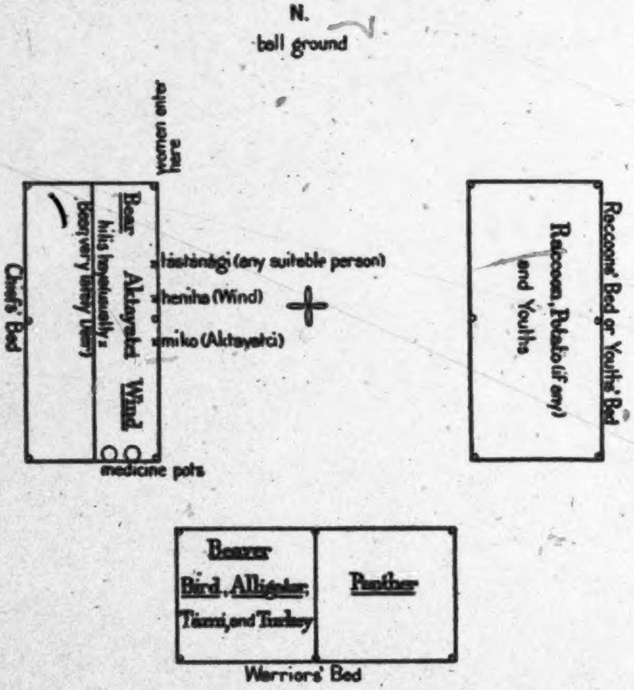

N.
ball ground
women enter here
Bear
Aktayatci
Wind
Chief's Bed
x tâstânâgi (any suitable person)
x heniha (Wind)
x miko (Aktayatci)
medicine pots
Raccoons' Bed or Youths' Bed
Raccoon, Potato (if any) and Youths
Bearer
Bird, Alligator,
Tâmi, and Turkey
Panther
Warriors' Bed

FIG. 39.—Plan of the Wiogufki Square Ground (1)

Figure 76 gives the Yuchi ground as described by Dr. Frank G. Speck.

Y.
344
621

The information which I myself obtained agreed in almost every particular with that of Doctor Speck. Seats passed from father to son and in consequence the clans were mixed up in these beds indiscriminately. My informant added that the bearers of the medicine sat at the south end of the west bed, and that on the ball post were two cow skulls at different heights, the lower as a target for the women. He said that if there was no person in the west bed fitted to take the position of chief, someone might be brought from one of the others.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNll Creek NNll
Muskogee

000 to take the position of chief, someone might be brought from one of the others.

● 344 621 Figures 77 and 78 give plans of Coweta, the second in this case probably representing the older organization. The main outlines of the first were confirmed by another old man. He added that two of the medicine bearers were selected from the Hathagas and two from the Tcilokis; they were usually two Bears and two Panthers. That the Panther was an important clan in this town is vouched for by another informant, who declared it was the "leading clan." To it, it may be remarked, the late Creek chief, G. W. Grayson, belonged.

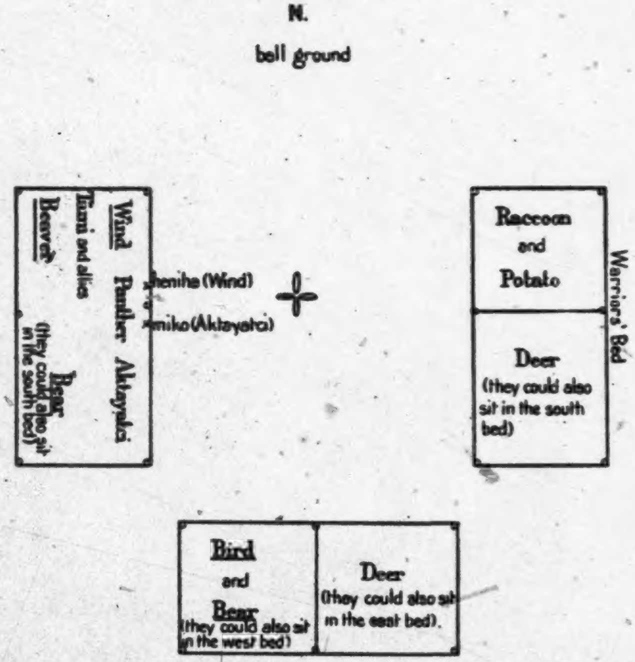

N.
ball ground
Wind
Panther
Aktayatci
Tämi and allies
Beaver
Bear
(they could also sit in the south bed)
henihe (Wind)
miko (Aktayatci)
Raccoon and Potato
Warriors' Bed
Deer (they could also sit in the south bed)
Bird and Bear (they could also sit in the west bed)
Deer (they could also sit in the east bed).

Fig. 80.—Plan of the Wiogufki Square Ground (II)

According to the Indian through whom I obtained the second plan the duty of the Holahta was to see that the bearers prepared and distributed the medicines.

The leader of the henihas was known as the Heniha łâko. The three officials in the north bed attended to the medicines and other matters connected with the square. When visitors came they went over to the beds occupied by their respective clans and left the north bed vacant for the strangers. One of the two pots of medicine was warmed, the other cold. The former contained both pasa and miko hoyanīdja, the other only pasa.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Muskogee
Hitchiti

344
621

In one place Milfort gives a description of a square which he represents as that in which the great assemblies of the nation were held, and this would probably be Coweta or Tukabahchee, but from the context it would appear rather to have been the former. What he has to say concerns the grand council of the nation more than the town council of Coweta and it will be inserted when we come to speak of that.[5] It is of interest to know, however, that the cabins on the west, north, and south were painted red, indicating a Red town like Coweta and Tukabahchee. That on the east was painted white, which seems rather surprising if my first informant is right in stating that it was occupied by the tástanágis. Milfort, however, gives this as the cabin of the old men, and it is possible that it was set aside for the isti átcagági, particularly since we know that some of the functions of these officials were later taken over by the tástanágis. Milfort appears to locate the tcokofa just where my informant indicated that it should be.

The square ground of Łikatcka or Broken Arrow is given in Figure 79. The hilis-haya was chosen from the Wind clan and his tenure was for life. The medicine was carried around by three persons, one of whom was chosen from each of the beds, omitting that on the east. There were officials named Holahta and Táski heniha like those in Coweta. In practice games of ball the Bear and Deer took opposite sides and the others joined one or the other of these clans as they chose. Probably this was a very late arrangement.

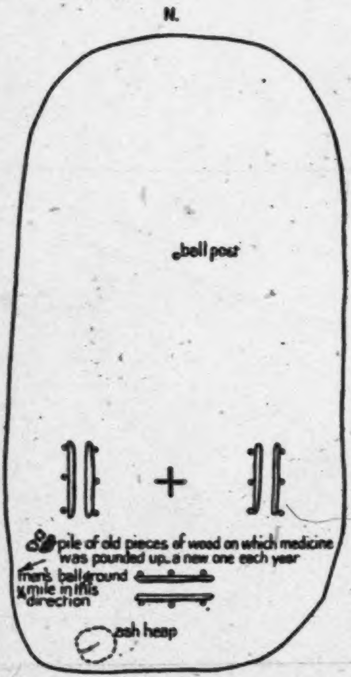

N.
ball post
pile of old pieces of wood on which medicine was pounded up, a new one each year
men's ball ground ½ mile in this direction
ash heap

Fig. 91.—Wiogufki Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Figures 80 and 81 show the Square of Eufaula Hobayi (Lower Eufaula). This town branched out from the town of that name above given. It is said that the Wind clan and those who sat in the north bed were considered the same as tástanágis.

The older plan of Chiaha is given in Figure 82. According to another informant "old Chiaha was just like Coweta." It had a tcokofa before the removal west but not afterwards. The Deer clan was classed as Hathaga because it was considered almost the same as the Bird.

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[5] See pp. 311-312.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Hitchiti
Muskogee

● 344
621

Figure 83 is from a description by Ellis Childers, who explained that the town organization as he gave it was the last and was made when a man of the Bird clan named Pibi'ska was miko, although later the miko was taken from the Wind clan as here shown. The reorganization was effected under the direction of Ayima'ha, an Osochi born in Alabama. At that time at least a part of the Osochi busked with the Chiaha, though the towns had separate officials. There was some controversy over the right of the Bird clan to a position in the west bed, but Ayima'ha ruled that it should sit there, and he also placed the Skunk and Fish there. All of the clans in the north bed are said to be henihas except perhaps the Deer. Anciently this town had the same three officials as those who sat in the north bed of Coweta, but on the reorganization they were dropped. The holahta is said to have made arrangements for ball games, and he and the taski heniha together took up a challenge to play (apai'hkita).

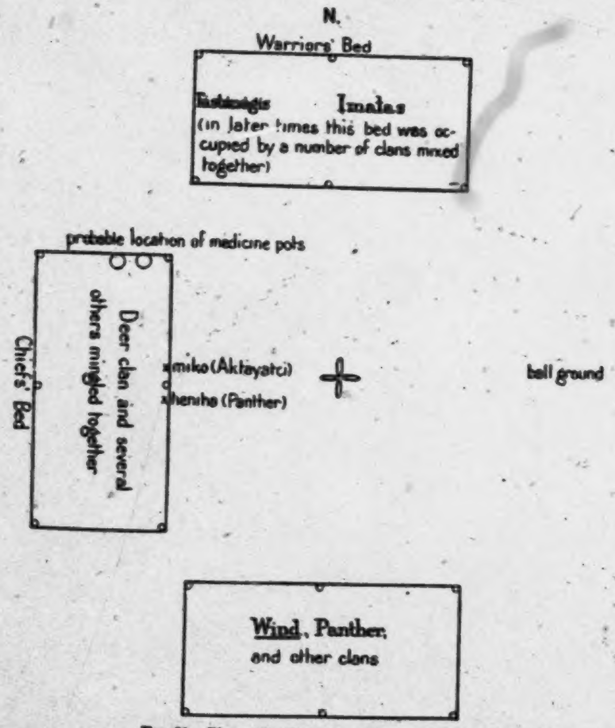
N.
Warriors' Bed
Tastanagis
Imalas
(in later times this bed was occupied by a number of clans mixed together)
probable location of medicine pots
Chiefs' Bed
Deer clan and several others mingled together
miko (Aktayatci)
heniha (Panther)
ball ground
Wind, Panther, and other clans

FIG. 83.—Plan of the Tukpafka Square Ground

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Hitchiti
Muskogee
Osochi

344
621

In its main outlines this arrangement was confirmed by another informant. However, he stated that the miko and his heniha were both of the Bear clan, that the young boys were in the north bed, that the various clans were mixed together in the south and west beds, that the women entered at the southwest corner instead of the southeast, and that there was a shelter over the fire. The first of these statements may be explained only by supposing that this man meant the yatika or miko apokta instead of the heniha or that the organization was broken down.

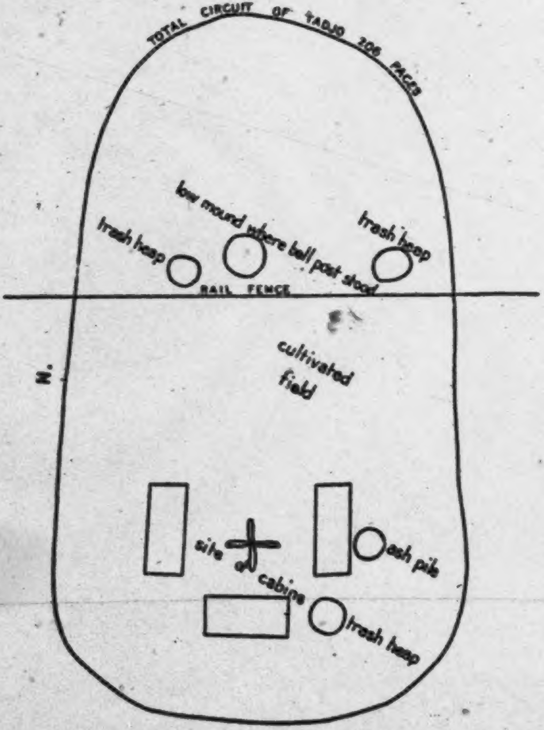
TOTAL CIRCUIT OF TADJO 206 PACES
low mound where ball post stood
trash heap
trash heap
RAIL FENCE
N.
cultivated field
site of cabins
ash pile
trash heap

Fig. 82.—The old Tukpafka Ceremonial Ground as it appeared in 1912

Figure 84 gives what was probably the older organization of Osochi. There were also some representatives of the Beaver clan in this town but my informant did not know where they sat, and he was unable to tell which clans were reckoned as Hathagas and which as Tcilokis.

The plan given in Figure 85 shows the arrangement of the square ground before it was moved from the Verdigris. The clans were scattered through the various beds, the latter not being divided

C.
344
621

S
344
621

into sections, but my informant affirmed that the Wind and Deer "always went together," which would be in line with the classification of the Deer as a Hathaga clan at Chiaha.

We now come to the Seminole squares.

Ochesee Seminole, a square which has now been given up, is shown in Figure 86. There was formerly a tcokofa, but my informant had

C.
[344
621]

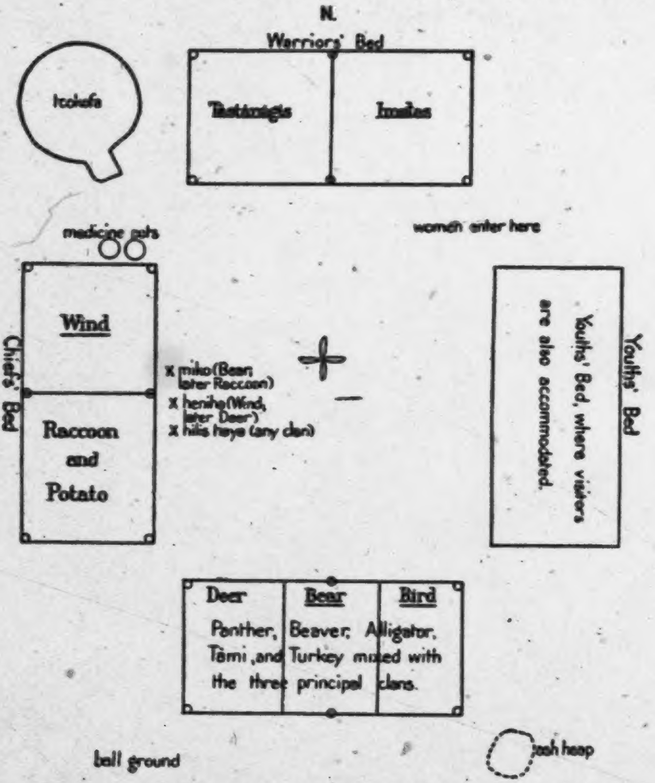
N.
Warriors' Bed
tcokofa
Tastanagis
Imalas
medicine pots
women enter here
Wind
Chief's Bed
Raccoon and Potato
x miko (Bear, later Raccoon)
x heniha (Wind, later Deer)
x hilis haya (any clan)
Youths' Bed
Youths' Bed, where visitors are also accommodated.
Deer
Bear
Bird
Panther, Tami, and the three principal
Beaver, Turkey mixed with
Alligator, mixed with clans.
ball ground
ash heap

FIG. 84.—Plan of the Square Ground of Asilanabi

forgotten its location. Most of the warriors were in the north bed, and the hilis-haya sat with his own clan. The ashes were not removed from the center of the ground as was customary in the Creek squares.

Figure 87 is Okfuskee Seminole. The ball ground was located wherever it was most convenient, and the women danced into the square from any corner.

Figure 88 is a plan of the square made in 1912.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Alabama
Seminole NN16

S.
344
621

The next plan (fig. 89) is of Tallahasutci. On the death of the miko the miko apokta took his place and a new miko apokta was appointed from the clan of the former miko.

The data for the accompanying sketch of this square (fig. 90) was obtained in the winter of 1911-12.

Figure 91 represents the square of Hitchiti Seminole, now abandoned. My informants stated that Toad and Tcokote were two names for one and the same clan. They added that the name of the last miko of this town was Nokobági, and the name of his heniha Holahtági.

C.
[344 ●
621]

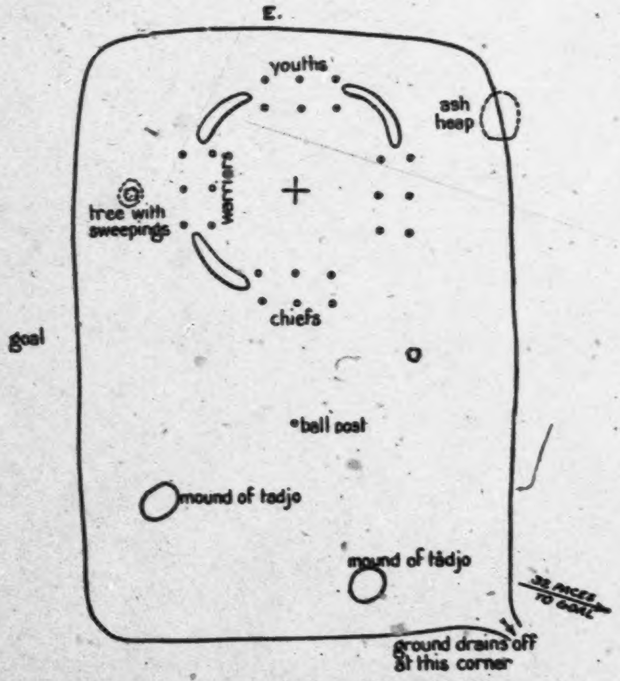
E.
youths
ash heap
warriors
tree with sweepings
chiefs
goal
ball post
mound of tadjo
mound of tådjo
32 PACES TO GOAL
ground drains off at this corner

FIG. 90.—The Asilanabi Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Figure 92 is Eufaula Seminole. The clans are not kept separate in the different beds. There were a few people of the Bird clan and one man belonging to the Bear who sat wherever they chose. There was also one of the Pahosa who sat with the Deer clan. There were no Beaver. It is said that the Wind clan is the only one which retains the taboo against endogamous marriages, but in the ball games each clan still hangs together. The distinction between the Hathagas and Tcilokis is no longer remembered.

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344
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The accompanying sketch of the square ground (fig. 93) was made in 1912.

Figures 94 and 95 give Łiwahali Seminole. This square ground is said to be kept up merely for the medicine. The leaders were from Łiwahali, but the bulk of the people are said to have been drawn from the Upper Creek towns of Fus-hatchee and Kan-hatki which migrated into Florida practically entire.

C.
[344
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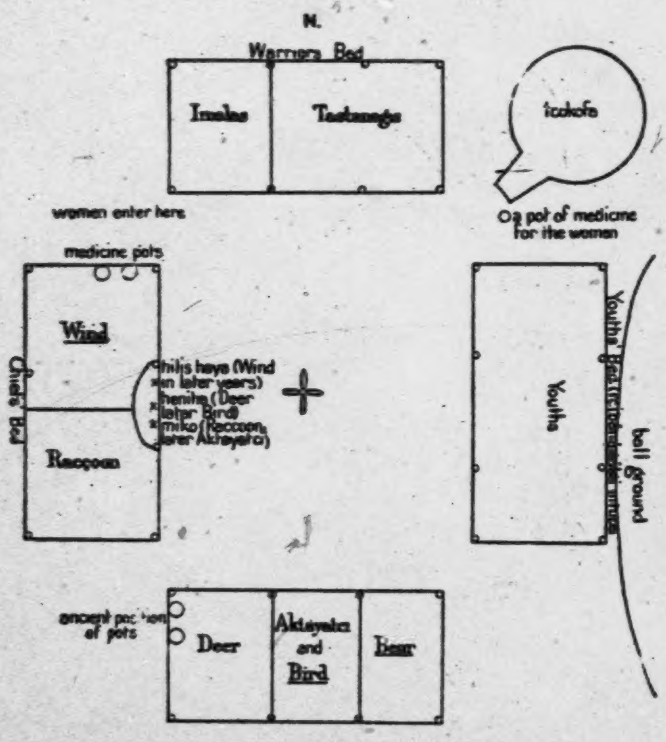
N.
Warriors Bed
Imalas
Tastanagi
tcokofa
pot of medicine for the women
women enter here
medicine pots
Wind
Chiefs' Bed
hilis haya (Wind in later years)
heniha (Deer later Bird)
miko (Raccoon, later Aktayatci)
Raccoon
Youths
Youths' Bed
ball ground
ancient position of pots
Deer
Aktayatci and Bird
Bear

FIG. 93.—Plan of the Okchai Square Ground

Accompanying is a sketch of the Łiwahali ground (fig. 96), the data for which was obtained in 1912.

Plate 5, *c*, is a view of this ground taken from the west side and looking northeast.

Figure 97 shows Chiaha Seminole. The officials given in the plan had served in their several capacities for a very long time. The present (1912) hilis-haya sits with the rest of his clan, the Potato, in the north bed. At the corners of the square logs were laid down for the accommodation of the women.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee
Seminole NN16

Figure 98 is an outline of this square as it existed in 1912.

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344
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Plate 2, *a*, gives a general view of the ground from the southwest; Plate 6, *a*, shows the West or Chiefs' bed from the southern end; Plate 6, *b*, is a view taken through the center of the square from the south; and Plate 6, *c*, shows the permanent parts of some of the surrounding camps.

Figure 99 is based on information furnished by the miko of Mikasuki, who stated that before the white people and the Coweta Indians burned their square, back in the east, the clans occupied certain definite seats, but they do so no longer. Besides the chiefs mentioned in the plan there is a third belonging to the Potato clan and presumably sitting with them.

C.
[344
621]

Figure 100 shows the same ground. The items entering into the sketch are from several different informants.

The plan of the Mikasuki square ground as I found it in 1912 appears in Figure 101.

C.
344
532
614

From Swan's description of the Creek square already given we learn that that part of a bed occupied by a certain clan was marked with a painting of the clan animal.[6] Adair states that the clans had symbols or signatures but he does not connect them with the square grounds.[7] He informs us, however, that clan marks were associated with the burial scaffolds of the Choctaw,[8] and he describes at some length the paintings he had seen about several other squares, though without mentioning that any of these referred to clans. His account is as follows:

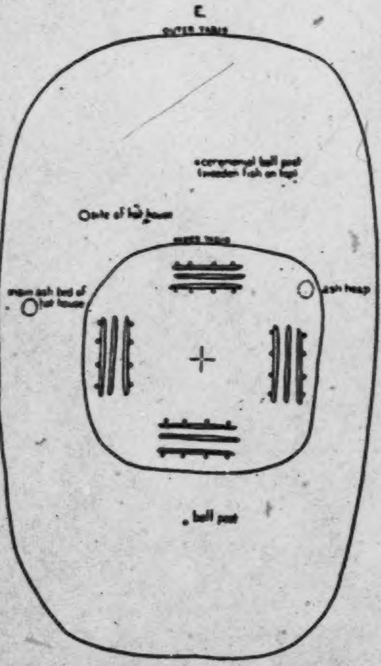
E.
ceremonial ball post (wooden fish on top)
site of hot house
where ash bed of hot house
ash heap
ball post

FIG. 97.—Okchai Ceremonial Ground in 1912

"I have seen in several of the Indian synhedria, two white painted eagles carved out of poplar wood, with their wings stretched out, and

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[6] See p. [illegible]. [7] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 15. [8] Ibid., p. 184.

Muskogee

● 344 532 614 raised five feet off the ground, standing at the corner, close to their red and white imperial seats; and, on the inner side of each of the deep-notched pieces of wood, where the eagles stand, the Indians frequently paint, with a chalky clay, the figures of a man, with buffalo horns—and that of a panther, with the same colour; . . . an established custom, both religious and martial, among them . . . obliges them to paint those sacred emblems anew, at the first fruit-offering [555] or the annual expiation of sins. Everyone of their war-leaders must also make three successful *wolfish campaigns*, with their reputed holy

[344 621]

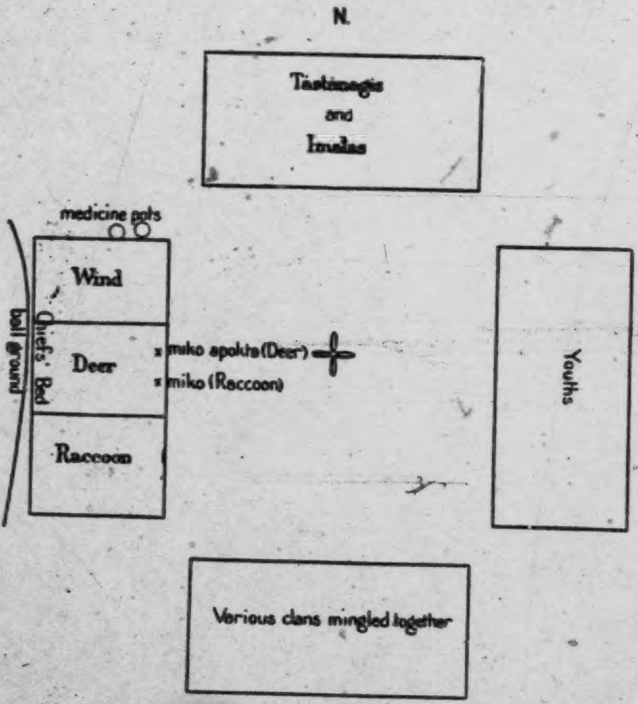
N.
Tastanagis
and
Imalas
medicine pots
Wind
Deer
Raccoon
Chiefs' Bed
ball ground
x miko apokta (Deer)
x miko (Raccoon)
Youths
Various clans mingled together

FIG. 32.—Plan of the Łalogalga Square Ground

ark, before he is permitted to wear a pair of a young buffalo-bull's horns on his forehead, or to sing the triumphal war song, and to dance with the same animal's tail sticking up behind him, while he sings *Yo Ya*, etc. . . .

"Near to the red and white imperial seats, they have the representation of a full moon, and either a half moon, or a breast-plate, raised five or six feet high at the front of the broad seats, and painted with chalky clay; sometimes black paintings are intermixed."[9]

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[9] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 30-31.

344
614
621

We will now summarize the seatings of each clan:

Clan	Chiefs' bed	Henihas' bed	Warriors' bed	Youths' bed
Wind	22	20	4	1
Bear	30	11	8	1
Bird	22	12	6	1
Beaver	17	10	5	1
Alligator	11	18	5	5
Deer	10	11	15	3
Panther	10	12	16	3
Raccoon	13	8	11	1
Aktayatci	8	18	8	2
Snake	1	6	1	----------
Potato	9	9	8	4
Tâmi	2	10	3	4
Turkey	1	4	3	3
Pahosa	1	2	2	2
Kapitca	2	4	4	----------
Wildcat	3	2	3	1
Wolf	3	2	3	1
Mole	1	2	----------	----------
Skunk	2	2	----------	----------
Fox	2	3	2	1
Eagle	1	2	----------	1
Woksi	----------	1	----------	----------
Tcowasta	----------	----------	1	----------
Fish	2	1	----------	----------
Toad	----------	1	1	----------
Otter	1	1	----------	----------
Tcokote	----------	1	----------	----------
Reed (Cane)	----------	----------	1	----------
Lidjámi	----------	----------	1	----------

The distribution of the smaller clans in the above table agrees very well with that of the larger ones with which they are linked. The principal discrepancies are due to the fact that when the chief was selected from a certain clan that clan moved over in a body into the Chief's bed, and therefore in some cases, in the Raccoon group for instance, the leading clan appears to have been seated in the Chief's bed many more times proportionately than most of the other clans of the phratry.

Turning to the nine first clans, which are representative of the leading Creek phratries, we find that the White clans are found oftenest in the Chief's bed, and next in frequency in the bed of the Henihas, while comparatively seldom are they seated in the beds of the Warriors or Youths. It is to be observed that both the Chiefs' bed and that of the Henihas are frequently spoken of as "White beds," but the former is occupied by White clans more often than the

344
614
621

latter. This is partly due, no doubt, to the great reduction in numbers which the towns have suffered and the practical abandonment of the Youths' bed, making it necessary to find seats for all of the clans in the three remaining beds. The Warriors' bed, too, does not appear to have been occupied anciently by clans as such, except perhaps the rear rows. In front were the tástanágalgi and imalálgi, who originally owed their positions to exploits in war and were drawn from various clans. In later times these dignities became to a certain extent hereditary, associated with certain clans, and the bed was occupied by clans in the same way as the other beds. It may be said, speaking generally, that the clan of the chief sat in the Chiefs' bed, and when a chief was selected from a new clan that clan moved over into that bed. There are a few cases to the contrary but this is what usually took place. The natural position of a clan is therefore best determined by studying its position when the chief belonged to some other clan. Bearing this in mind an inspection of the arrangement of the square grounds shows plainly that the proper position of the White clans is usually held to be in the beds of the Chiefs and the Henihas. And it is worthy of remark that most of those towns in which these clans appear in the Warriors' bed were of the Hitchiti group, indicating that a somewhat different arrangement obtained there. The Beaver clan is usually identified with, and seated with, the Bird everywhere except in Otciapofa and the Tulsa towns where it was generally the clan of the chief. The Alligator and Aktayatci occur more often in the Henihas' bed than anywhere else. The former is sometimes White, which perhaps accounts in part for its presence here and in the Chiefs' bed; the Aktayatci, however, is always Tciloki and is so much associated with war that the clan is considered—probably as a later development—identical with the tástanágalgi, in Łikatcka and Lutcapoga. This accounts for some

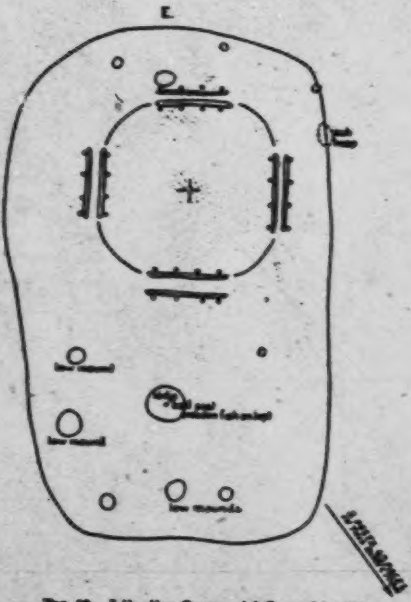

FIG. 23.—Łáłogálga Ceremonial Ground in 1912

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Muskogee

344
614
621

of the times when it appears in the Warriors' bed. It appears in the Chiefs' bed several times because the chiefs of the Eufaula towns, Hilibi, Wiogufki, and perhaps Pakan tallahassee, were taken from it.

The Alligator also appears many times in the Chiefs' bed. It is to be noted that when the Aktayatci were chiefs the Alligator were frequently henihas, and in consequence were sometimes taken into the Chiefs' bed. The Alligator were also henihas in Kasihta and were there taken into the Chiefs' bed for the same reason. In some other towns they were partly in the Chiefs' bed and partly in that of the Henihas. The Raccoon clan is the only Tciloki clan found more often in the Chiefs' bed than in any other. This position it occupies in Tukabahchee, Kealedji, the Okchai towns, Upper Eufaula, two Seminole towns, Koasati, two Abihka towns, and, according to two informants, in Chiaha and Osochi. Its position in the last two was probably due to the fact that it is identified with the Potato and Fox, to which the town chiefs there belonged. The others are all Upper Creek towns, constituting two geographical groups, the Abihka and the towns on Tallapoosa River. These Raccoon people are

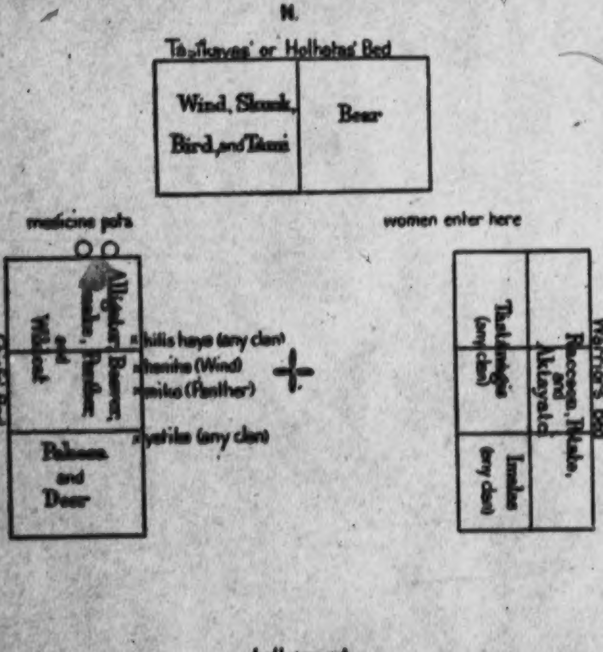
N.
Tastanagis' or Holhatas' Bed
Wind, Skunk, Bird, and Tami
Bear
medicine pots
women enter here
Chiefs' Bed
Alligator, Beaver, Snake, Panther
Wildcat and
Pahosa and Deer
hilis haya (any clan)
henihas (Wind)
miko (Panther)
yatika (any clan)
Warriors' Bed
Raccoon, Potato, and Aktayatci
Tastanagis (any clan)
Imalas (any clan)
ball ground

FIG. 48.—Plan of the Wiwohka Square Ground (1)

344
614
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found more often in the Warriors' bed than in that of the Henihas or Youths, and that is undoubtedly due to the fact that the clan is Red. In one or two cases it is said that the Raccoon clan were the tástánágis. They were in the Warriors' bed particularly in the Abihka and Tulsa towns. The only clans found oftener in the Warriors' bed than in any other are the Deer and Panther, rather singular companions one would think, but perhaps explacable on psychological grounds already given,[10] although it is more likely that the association has a historic basis now long forgotten. As in other cases the Panther and Deer sometimes furnish chiefs or henihas and are consequently found in the Chiefs' bed. They occur in the Henihas' bed more often. In the Okfuskee towns they are squeezed into the Youths' bed, owing to the large size of the White clans. In the Abihka towns, where the Warriors' bed is to the east, the Deer are uniformly placed there, while the Panther appear in the Henihas' bed. In Pakan tallahassee the Deer are again in the Warriors' bed and are specifically called tástánágálgi, while the Panther is taken into the

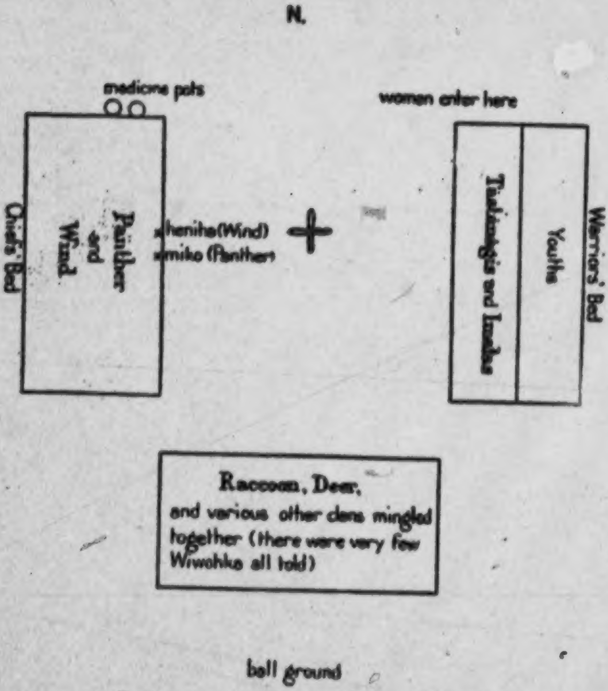
N.
medicine pots
women enter here
Chiefs' Bed
Panther and Wind
heniha(Wind)
miko (Panther
Tastanagis and Imalas
Youths
Warriors' Bed
Raccoon, Deer, and various other clans mingled together (there were very few Wiwohka all told)
ball ground

Fig. 41.—Plan of the Wiwohka Square Ground (II)

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[10] See p. 149.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNll Creek NNll

Tuskegee

344
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Chiefs' bed. In the Okchai towns, Tukpafka, Tukabahchee, Atasi, Koasati, Kealedji, and Hilibi these clans are found, however, either in the Chiefs' bed or in the bed of the Henihas. Often they are separated and sometimes one is placed in the Youths' bed. The separation occurs more often, however, when the Deer is placed in the Chiefs' bed, the Panther being in the Henihas' bed. The Deer are said to have been taken into the Chiefs' bed at Tukabahchee because they formed "a choice clan." In Seminole towns the Panther and Deer are almost always placed in the bed of the Warriors.

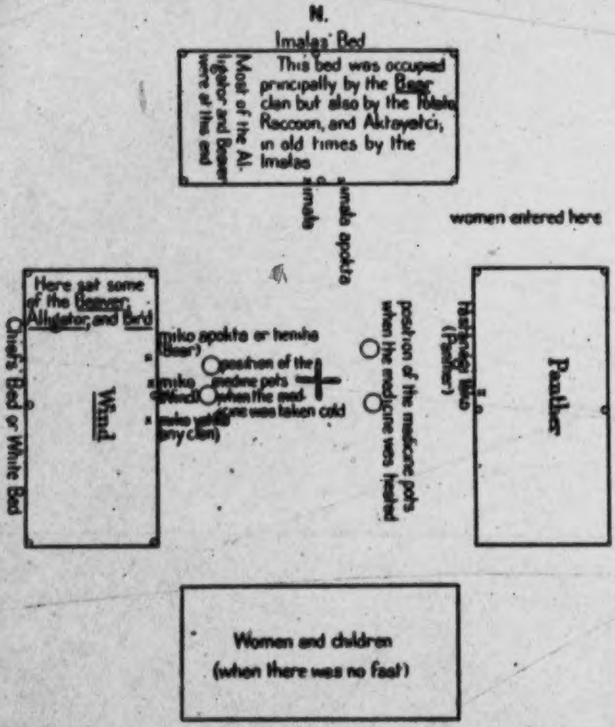
N.
Imalas' Bed
This bed was occupied principally by the Bear clan but also by the Tolsto, Raccoon, and Aktayatci, in old times by the Imalas
Most of the Alligator and Beaver were at this end
imala
imala apokta
women entered here
Here sat some of the Beaver, Alligator, and Bird
Chiefs' Bed or White Bed
Wind
miko apokta or heniha (Bear)
miko (Wind)
position of the medicine pots when the med. was taken cold
(any clan)
position of the medicine pots when the medicine was heated
(Panther)
Panther
Women and children (when there was no fast)

Fig. 62.—Plan of the Tuskegee Square Ground (I)

The important points regarding the nine leading clans brought out by this table are that the White clans—Wind, Bear, Bird, and Beaver—were seated most often in the Chiefs' bed and next to that most frequently in the bed of the Henihas; the Raccoon clan was seated oftenest in the Chiefs' bed and next to that in the Warriors bed; the Alligator and Aktayatci clans were seated most often in the Henihas' bed; and the Panther and Deer clans most often in the Warriors' bed.

Tuskegee

THE TOWN

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Although the word tálwa is employed rather loosely for both a town and a tribe, its proper signification seems to have been rather tribal, a town or city in our sense of the term, a center of population, being indicated by the word talofa. A tálwa appears to have consisted of a body of people who had their own square ground and actually formed a little state. In later times many such tálwa were formed by segmentation and they were closely related, but the farther back we go the more distinct do the differences between the various tálwa appear to be. These tálwa might, of course, consist of a number of distinct villages, but, except that they were usually composed of knots of clan relatives, no permanence and no particular coherence attached to these latter.

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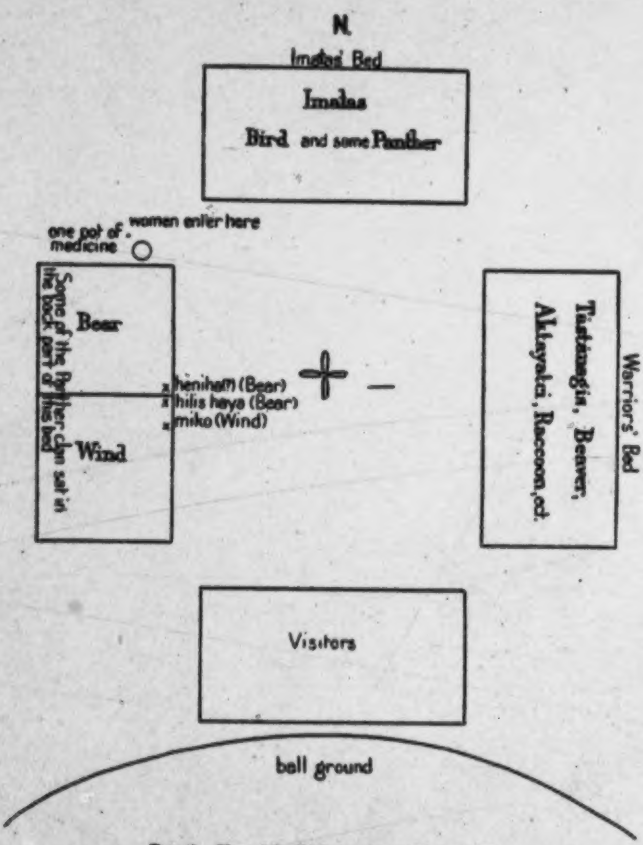
N
Imalas' Bed
Imalas
Bird and some Panther
one pot of medicine
women enter here
Some of the Panther clan sat in the back part of this bed
Bear
Wind
x heniham (Bear)
x hilis haya (Bear)
x miko (Wind)
Tastanagis, Beaver, Aktayahci, Raccoon, ect.
Warriors' Bed
Visitors
ball ground

FIG. 43.—Plan of the Tuskegee Square Ground (II)

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[344]

According to the late Judge James R. Gregory, who belonged to the town of Okmulgee, each tálwa, or at least each of the more important of them, anciently had a special emblem entirely distinct from the totems of the clans. He stated that the Coweta emblem was a wooden eagle marked like a spotted eagle and with blood dripping from its mouth. Whenever an important council was to be held it was brought out and set up in the ground in front of the miko's seat, facing east. The Tukabahchee emblem was an alligator, and the four front posts of the miko's bed in the Tukabahchee square were carved in the shapes of alligators. Mr. Gregory showed the writer a stone pipe carved by an old Tukabahchee Indian, on which was an alligator in bold relief represented crawling around it toward the bowl. The Koasati emblem was the gar. The four front posts of the miko's bed in the Koasati square were carved to represent garfishes, and a large figure of a gar was carved out of wood and used in dances. At Atasi the snake was used and the four front posts of the Chiefs' bed were in the same way carved into the forms of snakes.

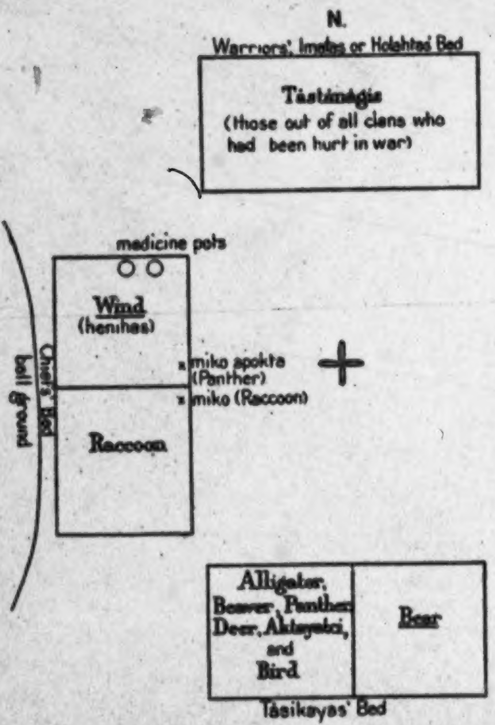
N.
Warriors', Imalas or Holahtas' Bed
Tástanagis
(those out of all clans who had been hurt in war)
medicine pots
Wind
(henihas)
Chiefs' Bed
ball ground
miko apokta (Panther)
miko (Raccoon)
Raccoon
Alligator, Beaver, Panther, Deer, Aktayatci, and Bird
Bear
Tásikayas' Bed

Fig. 44.—Plan of the Square Ground of Koasati No. 2

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

621
532

This is both interesting and important, and it is in line with what we know regarding the tribes living along both the lower and the upper courses of the Mississippi River. At the same time I have so far been unable to obtain confirmation of this from other Creeks. Of course, Bartram tells us that in his day the posts of the Chiefs' bed at Atasi were carved to resemble snakes, but this can not be accepted as confirmatory evidence because Judge Gregory was perfectly familiar with the writings of Bartram and other early authors. The Alabama and Koasati Indians of Texas claimed some particular right to the garfish, but I have not secured sufficient evidence regarding this to be sure of the nature of their claim. On a previous page I have had occasion to note that the Indians of the Fish Pond towns place wooden fish at the tops of their ball posts, but according to their own explanation this mark is merely suggested to them by the town name. The Eufaula Indians have a wooden eagle in the same place, but they say that this is because the eagle is emblematic of the United States. The other towns all use skulls of horses or cows, which are said to be without significance of any kind.

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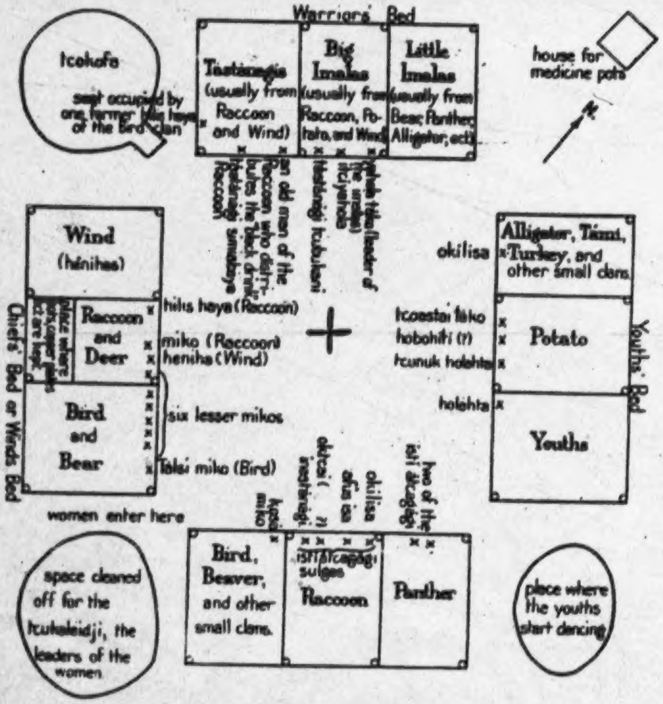
Warriors' Bed
Icohofa
seat occupied by one former hilis haya of the Bird clan
Tastanagis (usually from Raccoon and Wind)
Big Imalas (usually from Raccoon, Potato, and Wind)
Little Imalas (usually from Bear, Panther, Alligator, etc.)
house for medicine pots
N
an old man of the Raccoon who distributes the black drink
tastanagi tcubulasi
Wind (hénihas)
place where the sacred pots are kept
Raccoon and Deer
Bird and Bear
hilis haya (Raccoon)
miko (Raccoon)
heniha (Wind)
six lesser mikos
Talsi miko (Bird)
Chiefs' Bed or Winds Bed
okilisa
Alligator, Tami, Turkey, and other small clans
tcaestai fako
hobohiti (?)
tcunuk holahta
holahta
Potato
Youths
Youths' Bed
women enter here
space cleaned off for the tcukalaidji, the leaders of the women
Bird, Beaver, and other small clans.
isti atcagagi sulgee
Raccoon
Panther
okilisa
place where the youths start dancing

FIG. 45.—Plan of the Tukabahchee Square Ground (I)

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

621
532

In line with the wooden eagle of Coweta mentioned by Judge Gregory is the wooden statue of a human being which Adair informs us existed in his day in "the head war town of the upper Muskohge country." Tukabahchee is the head war town of the Upper Creeks to-day, but in Adair's time it may have been Łiwahali or Atasi. Adair's words are as follows:

"There is a carved human statue of wood, to which, however, they pay no religious homage. It belongs to the head war town of the upper Muskohge country, and seems to have been originally designed

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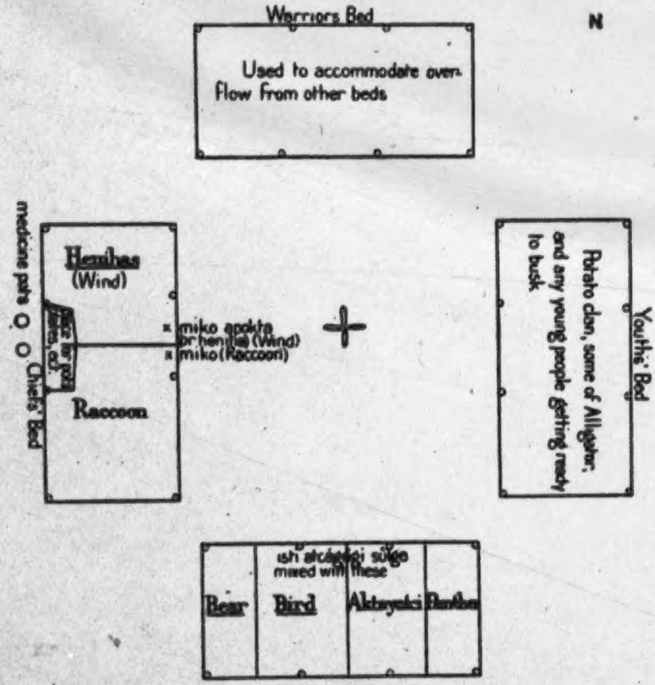
Warriors Bed
N
Used to accommodate over-flow from other beds
medicine pots
Henihas
(Wind)
x miko apokta
or heniha (Wind)
x miko (Raccoon)
Chiefs' Bed
Raccoon
Youths' Bed
Potato clan, some of Alligator, and any young people getting ready to busk.
ish alcá[illegible]i súgo
mixed with these
Bear
Bird
Aktayatci
Panther

—FIG. 46.—Plan of the Tukabahchee Square Ground (II)

to perpetuate the memory of some distinguished hero, who deserved well of his country; for, when their *cusseena*, or bitter, black drink is about to be drank in the synhedrion, they frequently, on common occasions, will bring it there, and honour it with the first conch-shell-full, by the hand of the chief religious attendant: and then they return it to its former place. It is observable, that the same beloved waiter, or holy attendant, and his coadjutant, equally observe the same ceremony to every person of reputed merit, in that quadrangular place. When I past that way, circumstances did not allow me to

621 532 view this singular figure; but I am assured by several of the traders who have frequently seen it, that the carving is modest, and very neatly finished, not unworthy of a modern civilized artist." [11]

[302] According to some informants the people of each tálwa formerly had distinctive face paintings, and there were men in every town particularly skilled in applying these. The design for Tuskegee was as shown in the cut (fig. 102).

•[344]

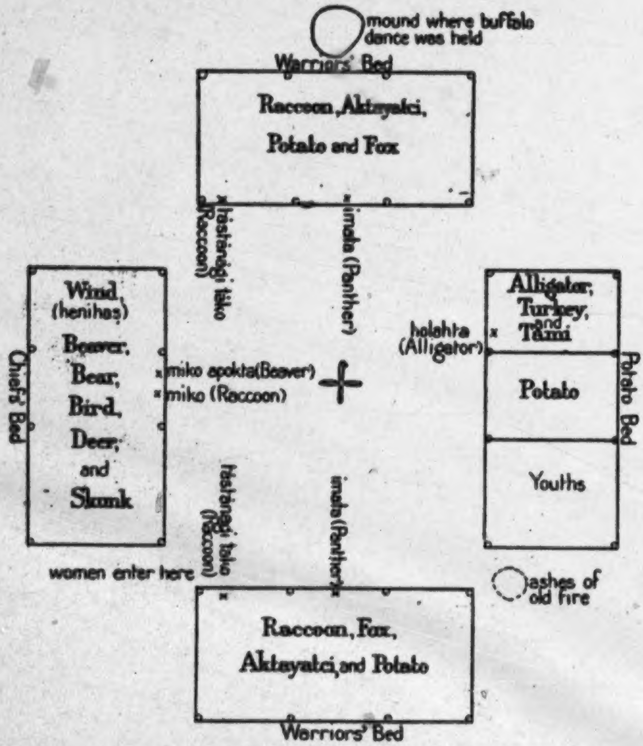
mound where buffalo dance was held
Warriors' Bed
Raccoon, Aktayatci, Potato and Fox
tastanagi tako (Raccoon)
imala (Panther)
Wind, (henihas) Beaver, Bear, Bird, Deer, and Skunk
Chief's Bed
miko apokta (Beaver)
miko (Raccoon)
holahta (Alligator)
Alligator, Turkey, and Tami
Potato
Youths
Potato Bed
tastanagi tako (Raccoon)
imala (Panther)
women enter here
ashes of old fire
Raccoon, Fox, Aktayatci, and Potato
Warriors' Bed

FIG. 47.—Plan of the Tukabahchee Square Ground (III)

621 A word may be quoted from Stiggins regarding the feeling of unity which subsisted within each town.

"The towns people were frequently assembled at their town house or square in order to keep them united, for the harmony subsisting among the people of a town is noted and seems to be cemented by an affection as strong towards each other as the sons of Jacob of old in their association. As the usages and customs of every town are similar and the men all know the unity and sympathy of a town

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[11] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 22-23.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Muskogee

621

people, the men of one town will approach another town with seeming diffidence, though the towns may be contiguously situated, and as such is their practice in this their more enlightened time, their approaches toward each other's towns and towards strangers must have been with extreme timidity and caution in their natural and more savage state."[13]

[344]

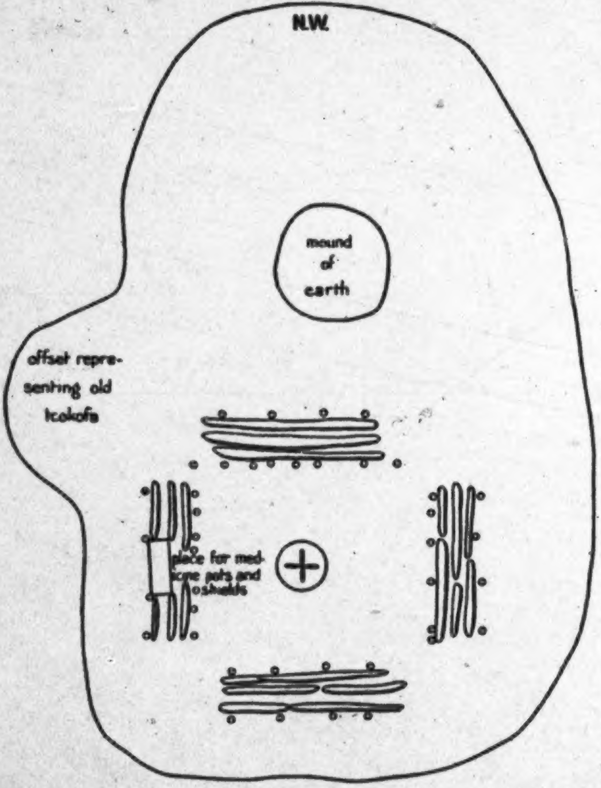
N.W.
mound of earth
offset representing old tcokofa
place for medicine pots and shields

Fig. 48.—Tukabahchee Ceremonial Ground in 1912

In my historical account of the Creek Indians and their neighbors I have taken up in detail the various tribes which constituted the confederacy and the position occupied by each.[12a] It will not be necessary to go over this ground again, except to insert a classification of the tálwa which of itself will serve to recapitulate the points there brought out.

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[13] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 19.

[12a] Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn.

Muskogee

101
621

•[344]

NATURAL CLASSIFICATION OF CREEK TOWNS

Muskogee tribes: Kasihta, Coweta, Coosa (including (a) the Tulsa group and (b) the Okfuskee group), Abihka, Holiwahali (or Łiwahali), Hilibi, Eufaula, Wakokai, several Muskogee tribes whose connection with the rest is uncertain, including Atasi, Kolomi, Kan-hatki, Fushatchee, Wiwohka, Kealedji, and tribes such as the Pakana, Okchai, and Tukabahchee, which seem not to have been constituted parts of the original body.

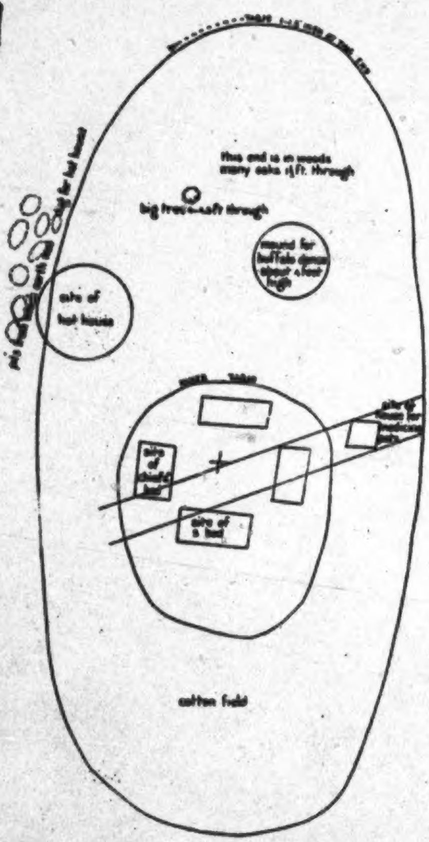
this end is in woods
many oaks 2 ft. through
big tree 4 ft through
mound for buffalo dance about 4 feet high
site of hot house
site of chief's bed
site of a bed
cotton field

FIG. 69.—The old Tukabahchee Ceremonial Ground near Melette, Okla., as it appeared in 1912-14

Atcik hata (Hitchiti speaking tribes): Hitchiti, Okmulgee, Oconee, Apalachicola, Sawokli, Tamali, Chiaha.

Alabama.

Muklasa.

Koasati.

Tuskegee.

Yuchi.

Natchez.

Shawnee.

Tribes of uncertain connection: Osochi.

To these might almost be added the Chickasaw, since one band of Chickasaw lived with the Creeks for several years and they were all held to be of one fire with the Kasihta. According to the traditions given above the Kasihta and Coweta resulted from the segmentation of one original body, and it is probable that these and the next five towns in the above list were the original Muskogee speaking peoples in the confederacy. It seems likely that the Pakana, Okchai, and Tukabahchee were Muskogee in language but were late in uniting with the others. The Koasati were closely related by language with the Alabama, as was probably the case

Muskogee

with the Tuskegee and Muklasa. There are reasons for thinking 101
that the Osochi may originally have spoken Timucua.[13] 621

Socially, as has already been indicated, these towns were divided 621
into two classes which may conveniently be called White and Red, 616
respectively, as one set was devoted to the maintenance of peace, 619
[344]

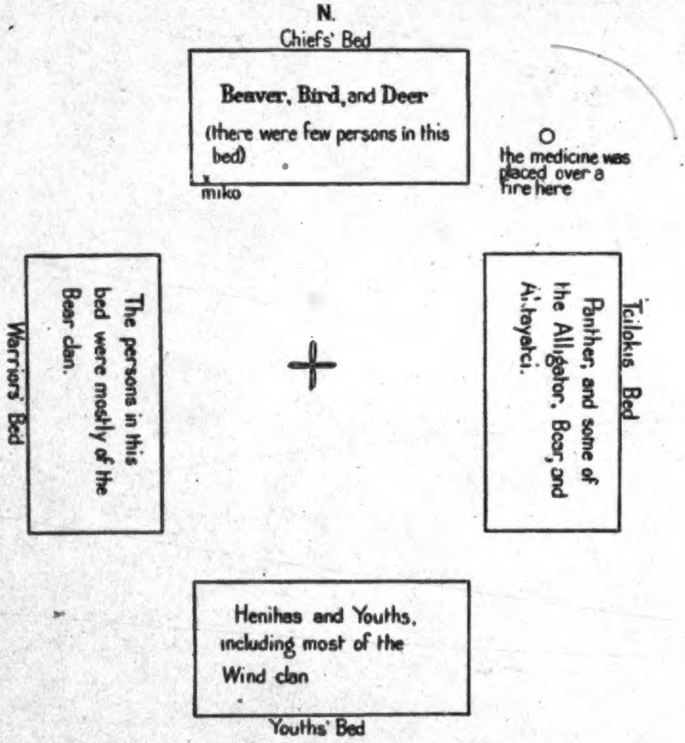
N.
Chiefs' Bed
Beaver, Bird, and Deer
(there were few persons in this bed)
miko
the medicine was placed over a fire here
Warriors' Bed
The persons in this bed were mostly of the Bear clan.
Tcilokis Bed
Panther, and some of the Alligator, Bear, and Ái·iayatci.
Henihas and Youths, including most of the Wind clan
Youths' Bed

Fig. 50.—Plan of the Atasi Square Ground (I)

the other to the prosecution of war. There appears, moreover, to [614]
have been some sort of association between White clans and White
towns and Red clans and Red towns, the chiefs of the towns of each 621
set being chosen from the corresponding clans.[13a] At the present 619
day, however, the Creeks themselves do not use these names. In 177
fact there are few who can give any well-defined term for the two
classes, except to call them "fires" or to call the towns opposed to

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[13] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 28.

[13a] See pp. 196-197.

621 619 177 [609] one's own set inkipaya, "opponents." "People of one fire" was used in a very general manner by the southern Indians to indicate an alliance. Adair, for instance, states that he appealed to the Choctaw to be "people of one fire" with the English,[44] and early documents inform us that the Okfuskee towns several times claimed that they and the white settlers of Carolina belonged to the same fire clan—i. e., to the division including the White towns. It is probable that this was partly on account of the complexion of the newcomers and partly from the fact that the White or Peace side was that which usually took in foreign communities.

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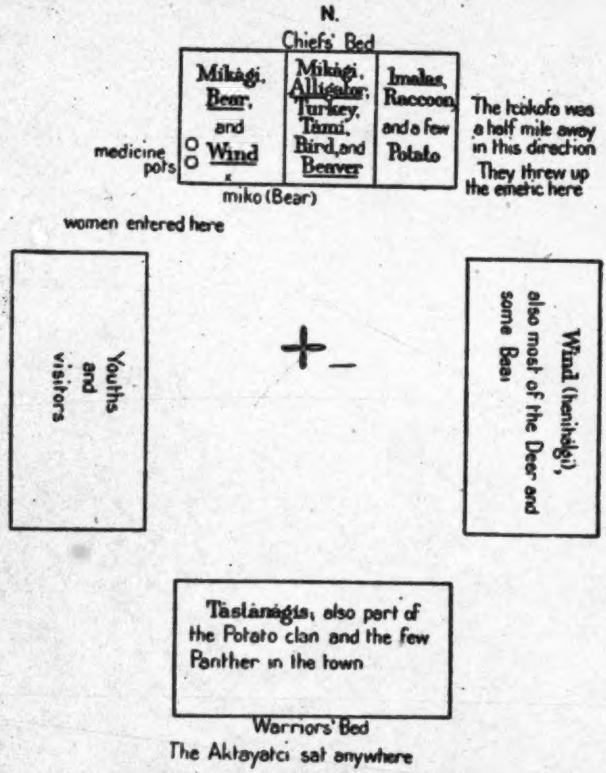
N.
Chiefs' Bed
Mikági, Bear, and Wind
Mikági, Alligator, Turkey, Tämi, Bird, and Beaver
Imalas, Raccoon, and a few Potato
The Itcokofa was a half mile away in this direction
They threw up the emetic here
medicine pots
miko (Bear)
women entered here
Youths and visitors
Wind (henihalgi), also most of the Deer and some Bear
Tästanägis, also part of the Potato clan and the few Panther in the town
Warriors' Bed
The Aktayatci sat anywhere

FIG. 51.—Plan of the Atasi Square Ground (II)

621 619 Jackson Lewis used the name Tálwa mikági for the White towns and Ispokogi for the Red towns. The former means "chief or principal towns;" the latter is the esoteric title of Tukabahchee, the most prominent Red town among the Upper Creeks. The first of

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[44] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 229.

these names is said to have been applied originally to the Bird clan 621
of Otciapofa because a chief of that town and clan inducted the head 619
chief of the confederacy into office. It was extended from the clan
to the town of Otciapofa and thence to the group of towns to which
Otciapofa belonged. The importance of Otciapofa comes out, also,
in the fact that it is known as the "mother" of the Tulsa and Okfuskee towns, and that it was the capital of McGillivray and later the headquarters of Chitto Hadjo or "Crazy Snake," the reactionary leader.

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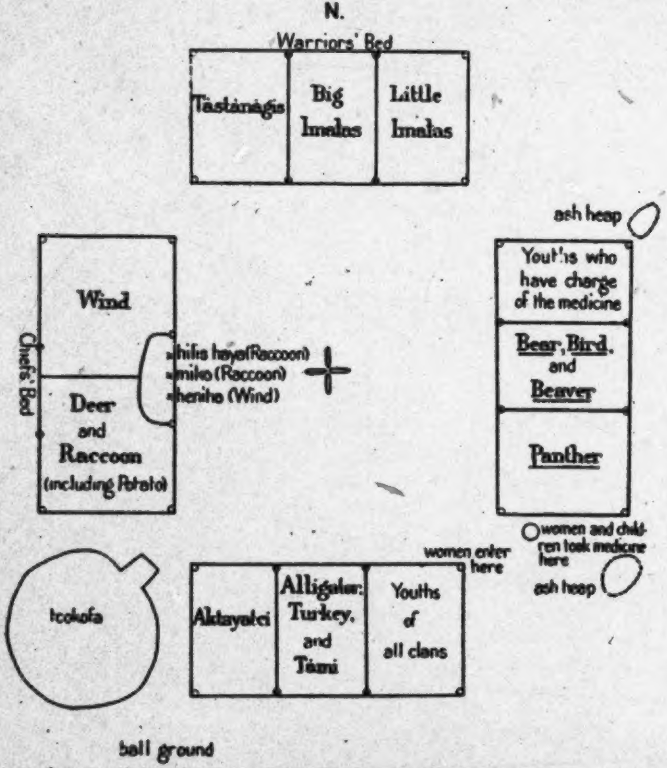
N.
Warriors' Bed
Tastanagis
Big Imalas
Little Imalas
ash heap
Youths who have charge of the medicine
Bear, Bird, and Beaver
Panther
Wind
Chiefs' Bed
hilis haya (Raccoon)
miko (Raccoon)
heniha (Wind)
Deer and Raccoon (including Potato)
women and children took medicine here
women enter here
ash heap
tcokofa
Aktayatci
Alligator, Turkey, and Tämi
Youths of all clans
ball ground

FIG. 52.—Plan of the Kealedji Square Ground (I)

Apart from the ball games which these towns periodically entered 609
into against each other and their antithetical peace and war func- 619
tions, the attitude which each division maintained toward the other 621
was anciently one of avoidance, if not aversion. According to the late G. W. Grayson there was formerly little intermarriage between them, on account of the mutual jealousy which existed, though there

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was no direct prohibition of such marriages. Towns did not invite those of the opposite fire to the busk ceremony, although usually calling in some of the same fire. In later times, however, such invitations, as well as intermarriages, have been more frequent. Indeed, another informant told me that a man living in a certain town might be classed as a "friend" by his neighbors, although his own proper town was on the opposite side.

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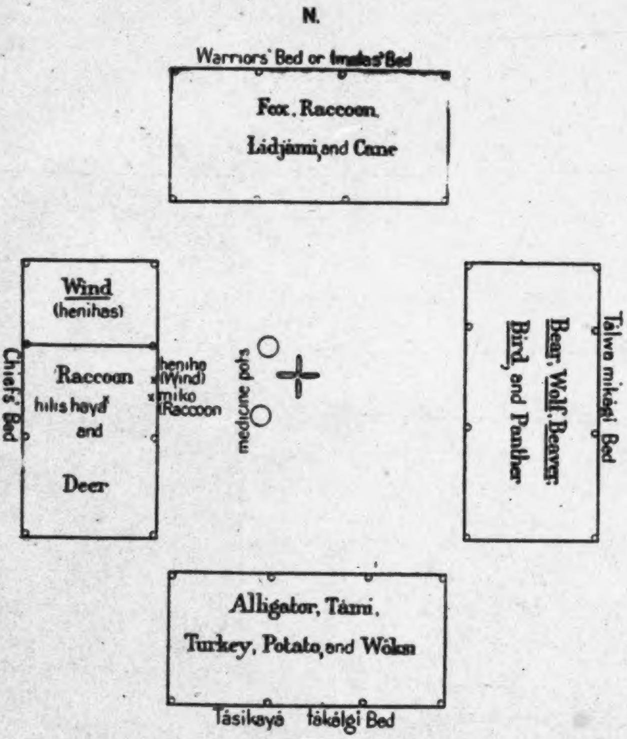
N.
Warriors' Bed or Imalas' Bed
Fox, Raccoon,
Lidjämi, and Cane
Wind
(henihas)
Chiefs' Bed
Raccoon
hilis haya
and
Deer
henihe
(Wind)
miko
(Raccoon)
medicine pots
Tälwa mikagi Bed
Bear, Wolf, Beaver,
Bird, and Panther
Alligator, Tämi,
Turkey, Potato, and Wōkm
Tåsikayå tåkälgi Bed

Fig. 53.—Plan of the Kealedji Square Ground (II)

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Their respective attitudes with reference to peace and war were known to the whites from an early date. Hawkins,[15] Swan,[16] Bartram,[17] and Adair[18] all mention the fact. Bartram states that human blood had never been shed in the town of Apalachicola until an outbreak occurred against the English traders when several who had sought refuge there were put to death, and he adds that this

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[15] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 51-52.
[16] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 279.
[17] Bartram, Travels, p. 387.
[18] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 159.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Muskogee

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event was believed to have brought misfortune on the community and to have resulted in breaking it up.[18a] Adair says that "in almost every Indian nation, there are several *peaceable* towns, which are called 'old-beloved,' 'ancient, holy, or white towns;' they seem to have been formerly 'towns of refuge,' for it is not in the memory of their oldest people, that ever human blood was shed in them; although they often force persons from thence, and put them to death elsewhere." "White," he says in a footnote, "is their fixed emblem of peace, friendship, happiness, prosperity, purity, holiness, &c.," and just above he tells us that Coosa, then "reduced to a small ruinous village," was "still a place of safety for those who kill undesignedly."[19]

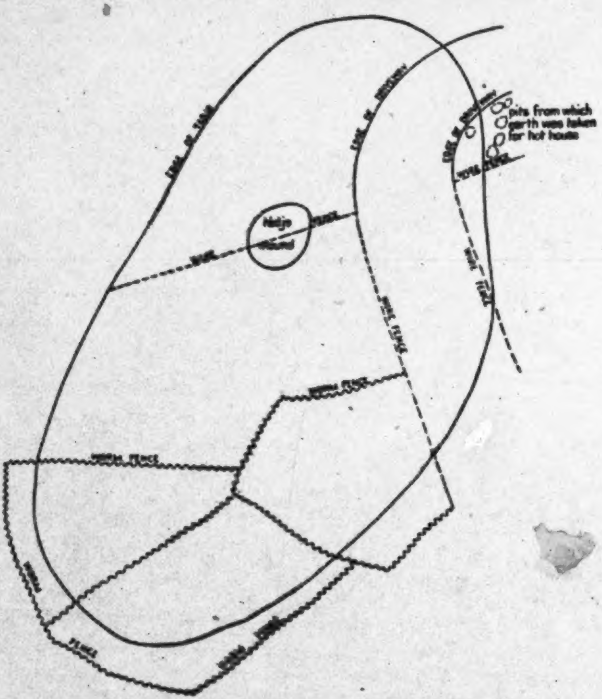

FIG. 34.—Site of the old Kealedji Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Few of my own informants knew anything about these matters, but one of them reported that if a criminal escaped to a White town the pursuers must stop and wait until the affair could be adjusted. He added that if an enemy reached a White town he was safe, though not infrequently he was forced out of it and killed beyond its precincts.

[18a] Bartram, Travels, pp. 387–388.

[19] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 159.

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The Red towns were said to carry red beads, the White towns white beads. In modern times their functions were well-nigh reduced to determining what towns were to play with and against each other in the ball games.

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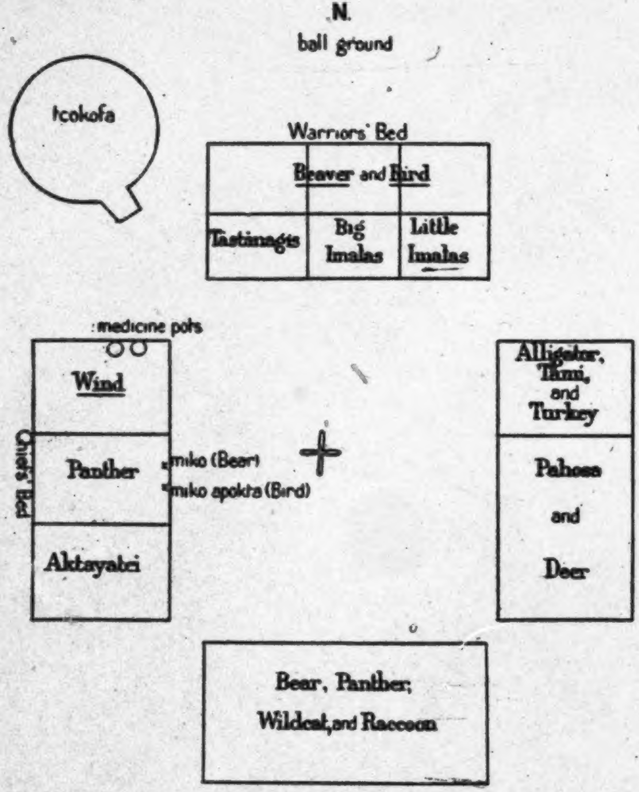
N.
ball ground
tcokofa
Warriors' Bed
Beaver and Bird
Tastinagis
Big Imalas
Little Imalas
medicine pots
Wind
Chiefs' Bed
Panther
miko (Bear)
miko apokta (Bird)
Aktayatci
Alligator, Tami, and Turkey
Pahosa and Deer
Bear, Panther, Wildcat, and Raccoon

FIG. 55.—Plan of the Łapláko Square Ground (I)

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Following is a list of towns as classified to-day in accordance with the best information available:

WHITE

Kasihta.
Apalachicola.
Hitchiti.
Sawokli.
Okmulgee.
Kawaigi.
Okitiyagana.
Yuchi.[30]
Coosa.
Otciapofa.
Tulsa Little River.
Tulsa Canadian.
Lutcapoga.
Okfuskee.
Tcatoksofka.
Abihkutci.
Nuyaka.
Abihka.
Abihka-in-the-West.
Talladega.
Kan-tcati.
Wakokai.
Wiogufki.
Tukpafka.
Wiwohka.
Pakan tallahassee.
Okchai.
Łalogalga.
Asilanabi.
Koasati (1 and 2).
Tuskegee.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Muskogee

617

101

RED

Coweta.
Łikatcka.
Chiaha.[59]
Osochi.
Hotalgihuyana.
Eufaula.
Eufaula Hobayi.
Tukabahchee.
Kealedji.
Hatchee tcaba.
Atasi.
Holiwahali.
Łapłako.
Hilibi.
Kitcopataki.
Tallahasutci or Sakapadai.
Talmutcasi.
Alabama.

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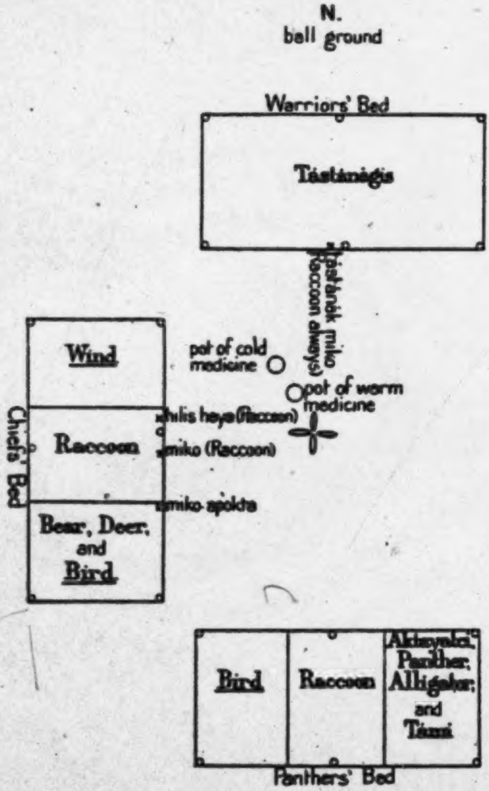
N.
ball ground
Warriors' Bed
Tástanagis
Tástanák miko (Raccoon always)
pot of cold medicine
pot of warm medicine
hilis heya (Raccoon)
miko (Raccoon)
miko apokta
Wind
Raccoon
Bear, Deer, and Bird
Chiefs' Bed
Potato, Turkey, youths, visitors, etc
Youths' Bed
Bird
Raccoon
Aktayatci, Panther, Alligator; and Tâmi
Panthers' Bed

FIG. 56.—Plan of the Łapłako Square Ground (II)

This classification was in the main agreed to by everybody, but there were differences of opinion on minor points. One informant thought that Wiwohka used to play on either side indifferently, but others explained that this was only an appearance due to the number of persons who had married into the town from outside. Some said that Tallahasutci or Sakapadai belonged on the White side. Two informants thought that Koasati was a Red town, a conclusion which

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[59] The relative position of Chiaha and Yuchi is confirmed by David Taitt who mentions a ball game May 2, 1772, in which the former defeated the latter (Mereness, Trav. in Am. Col., p 552).

may have been deduced from the fact that in recent years the related Alabama town was on the Red side. From the evidence which I collected, however, it would seem that it is Alabama which has changed, and that only in late times owing to some difference with the Okchai Indians with whom the Alabama people had formerly been allied. Jackson Lewis in fact placed Alabama on the White side, but on the other hand he thought that Wiogufki and Tukpafka were Red.[11] Such a classification of these last two towns was concurred in by some other informants, and Eufaula hadjo told me that Wiogufki had formerly been Red and had become a White town very recently. As Tukpafka was a branch, or at any rate a coordinate part, of Wiogufki, it was probably classed with it. This shift was perhaps responsible for the confusion regarding Wiogufki in the mind of one old man who said that he believed Wiogufki played on both sides. Eufaula hadjo's statement was, however, confirmed by Big Jack of Hilibi who affirmed that at one time Wiogufki, Tukpafka, Wakokai, Sakapadai, Talmutcasi, and Pakan tallahassee were of the same fire clan as Coweta and Łapłåko but had gotten changed. I am inclined to doubt the correctness of this in so far as it applies to the last two towns. Possibly the social and political upheavals which accompanied the Civil War may have been responsible for some of the confusion. One of my best informants among the Okchai Indians thought that Wiogufki was really a White town, but that it probably had some agreement with Hilibi and Eufaula that, as good friends and neighbors, they would never play against each other. While Eufaula hadjo and Big Jack are probably right this is interesting as showing that agreements of the sort were not unknown, or at least not inconceivable. I am inclined to think that Talmutcasi was originally White, because it seems to have been a branch of the well-known White town of Okfuskee. An old Coweta Indian stated that some of the Abihka Indians were claimed by Coweta and some by Kasihta, but this confusion, as in the case of Wiwohka, was very likely due to marriages outside. The standing of Abihka on the White side was not questioned by anyone else.

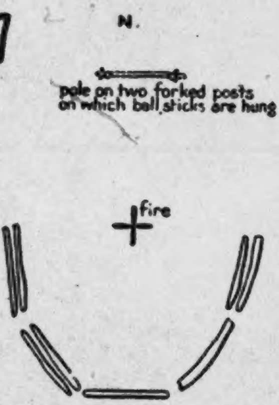

FIG. 57.—The Łapłåko "rallying ground" used before ball games, as it appeared in 1912

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[11] The original position of Alabama as a White town is also indicated by what Bossu says regarding it: "The Alibamons have called their country the white ground, or country of peace, and rest on their mats, that is to say attack no one. A kind of allegory through which they seem to announce to all the nations of the earth, that the bloody hatchet is buried, and people can come and trade in all safety."—Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 47.

Muskogee
Seminole NN16

C.
619

According to Silas Jefferson the Chiaha were the chief opponents of the Tuskegee after they had removed to Oklahoma, but the latter played frequently with the Wiwohka, and sometimes with the Hilibi, and, in the old country, against the Alabama. The Hitchiti and Apalachicola were usually matched against the Atasi.

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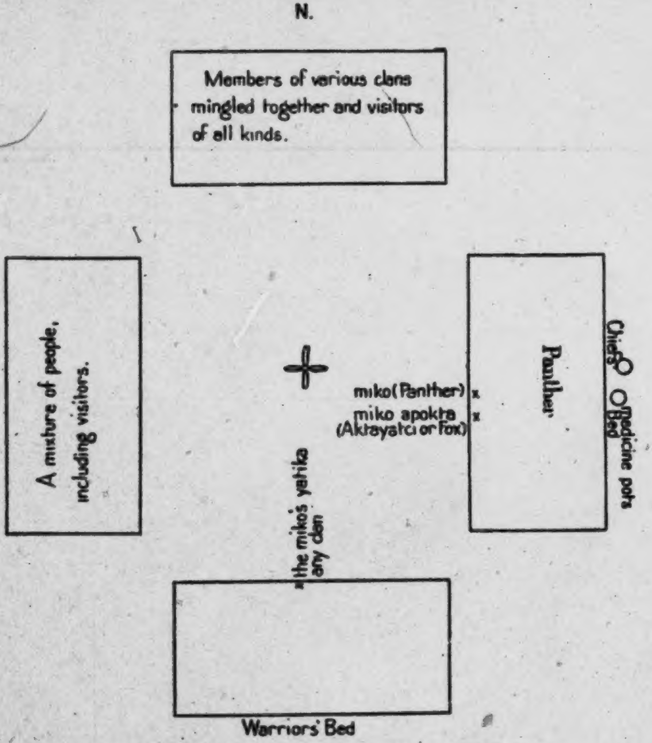
N.
Members of various clans mingled together and visitors of all kinds.
A mixture of people, including visitors.
Panther
Chiefs
Bed
Medicine pots
miko (Panther)
miko apokta (Aktayatci or Fox)
the mikos yatika any clan
Warriors' Bed

Fig. 22.—Plan of the Liwahali Square Ground

S.
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The corresponding division among the Seminole in Oklahoma is said to have been as follows:

White	Red
Okfuskee	Eufaula.
Tallahasutci	Liwahali (including the Fus-hatchee and Kan-hatki).
Ochesee	Chiaha.
Hitchiti	Mikasuki.

This agrees perfectly with the alignment among the Creeks if, as I now suspect, the Mikasuki were a branch of the Chiaha Indians instead of the Hitchiti proper.

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At the end of the eighteenth century Benjamin Hawkins, first agent of the American Government to the Southern Indians, undertook to knit the Creeks into a firmer and more responsible organization. To carry out this plan the towns were placed in nine classes, and one or two individuals were selected to represent each. The nine classes are given as follows:

1. Okchai, Wiwohka, Pakan tallahassee, Opilłáko, and Łalogálga.
2. Kealedji and Eufaula.

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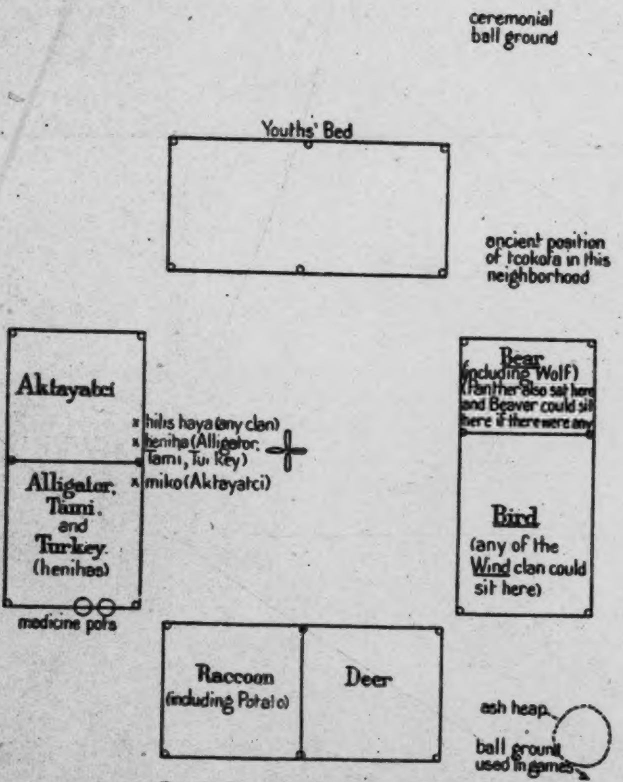
ceremonial ball ground
Youths' Bed
ancient position of tcokofa in this neighborhood
Aktayatci
hilis haya (any clan)
heniha (Alligator, Tami, Turkey)
miko (Aktayatci)
Alligator, Tami, and Turkey (henihas)
medicine pots
Bear (including Wolf) (Panther also sat here and Beaver could sit here if there were any)
Bird (any of the Wind clan could sit here)
Raccoon (including Potato)
Deer
ash heap
ball ground used in games

FIG. 59.—Plan of the Hilibi Square Ground

3. Hilibi, Wakokai, and Potcas hatchee.
4. Abihkutci, Natchez, Coosa, and Eufaula hatchee.
5. Hołiwahali, Kan-hatki, Sawanogi, Muklasa, and Tukabahchee.
6. Okfuskee and its branches Sukaispoga, Nuyaka, Imukfa, Tukabahchee Tallahassee, Tohtogagi, Achinaulga, Okfuskutci, and Ipisagi.
7. Otciapofa and Tuskegee.
8. Tulsa, Atasi, Fus-hatchee, and Kolomi.

9. Okchaiyutci, Koasati, Kan-tcati, Tawasa, Pawokti, and Atauga. 619

Hawkins states that the first five classes consisted of Red towns, and 6 and 8 of White towns. The words with which he introduces classes 6 to 9 would lead one to expect that 7 and 9 were White towns also and in fact such was the case if we assume the supposed recent change in Alabama. On the other hand, class 8, which is said specifically to have consisted of White towns, contains one, Atasi, now reckoned as Red, and two, Fus-hatchee and Kolomi, of doubtful affiliations but which there are reasons for supposing to have been Red also. At least we should not expect to find them opposed to Kan-hatki, as here given. The classification of some of the Red towns also presents difficulties. The two towns in group 2 are still classed as Red towns, and none of those in group 5 is known to have been White, although this might have been suspected of Kan-hatki and also of Muklasa, supposing that Muklasa was an Alabama settlement. On the other hand, all of those towns in class 1 regarding which we have a record are now White, as are Wakokai and Potcas hatchee in class 3 and Abihkutci in class 4, while Adair so describes Coosa. We should suppose Natchez to have been of one "fire" with the intimate friends of its people, the Abihka, but have no means of knowing the status of Eufaula hatchee, nor of Opilłako in class 1. Pakan tallahassee and the Okchai towns have been White within the memory of all living Creek Indians, yet Adair introduces a puzzle by speaking in one place of "the Okchai war town."[22] In brief, it does not seem as though much reliance can be placed on Hawkins's classification.

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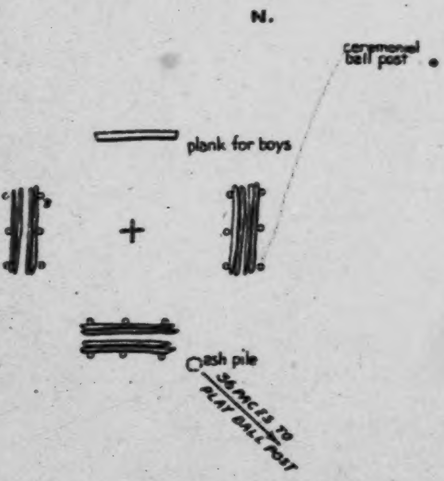

FIG. 60.—Hilibi Ceremonial Ground in 1912

EVOLUTION OF THE CREEK CONFEDERACY

Any discussion of the probable origin and evolution of the Creek confederacy must carefully distinguish between the native conception regarding its origin and evolution and the thing itself; between the psychological construction and the actual facts. 173 642

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[22] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 262.

Muskogee

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Our knowledge of the former is limited, however, by the fragmentary condition of the origin legends, and our ability to interpret the latter is also seriously hampered by the disappearance of much of the data necessary to a proper understanding of them. In the best preserved migration legends, which are from the Lower Creeks and indeed from the single town of Kasihta, we find that the names

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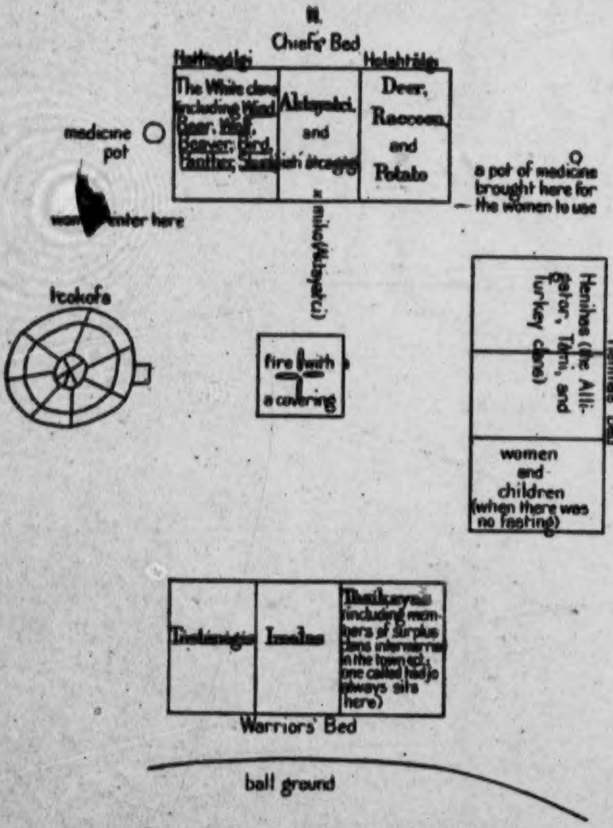
N.
Chiefs' Bed
Hathagalgi
Holahtalgi
The White clans including Wind, Bear, Wolf, Beaver, Bird, Panther
Aktayatci.
and
Deer,
Raccoon,
and
Potato
medicine pot
women enter here
a pot of medicine brought here for the women to use
mikko (Aktayatci)
Itcokofa
fire with a covering
Henihas (the Alligator, Tami, and turkey clans)
Henihas' Bed
women and children (when there was no fasting)
Imalas
including members of surplus clans intermarried in the town etc.; one called Hadjo always sits here)
Warriors' Bed
ball ground

FIG. 61.—Plan of the Eufaula Square Ground (I)

of the Coweta, Kasihta, and Chickasaw are constantly associated. The Chickasaw certainly had a distinct origin, and are evidently introduced because they were friends of the Kasihta and were considered to belong to the same fire clan as that tribe; that is, "Chickasaw" was reckoned as a "White town." It is also worthy of note that in the very earliest version the Coweta are not mentioned until after the immigrants had reached Georgia, where it is implied that

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

173
642

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the Kasihta separated into two parts, the Kasihta and Coweta. It is also to be noted that the Abihka are sometimes added, though in the Hawkins version the Abihka are said to have been encountered on Coosa River. The Alabama are mentioned once, and then perhaps merely to make out the formula number four. It seems evident from these stories that the Kasihta and Coweta were always considered

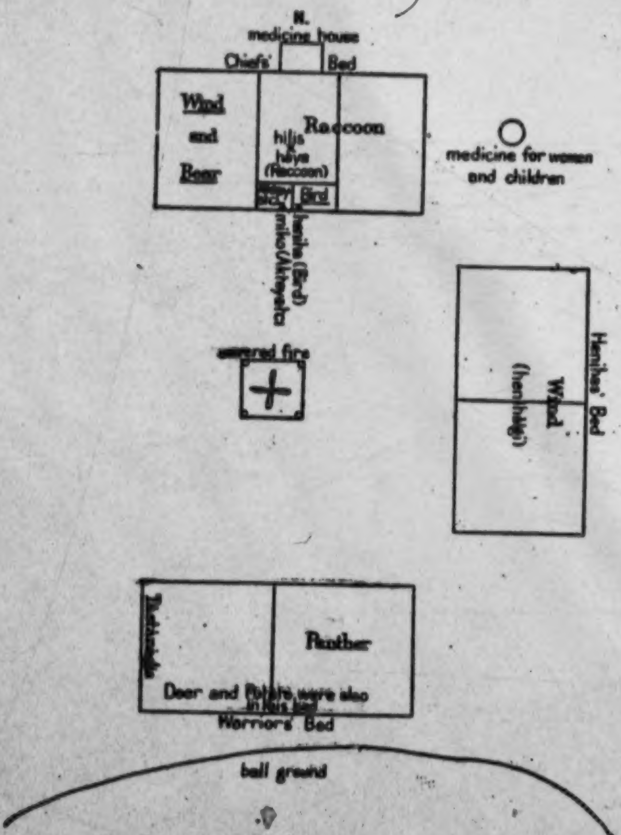
N.
medicine house
Chiefs' Bed
Wind and Bear
Raccoon
hilis haya (Raccoon)
Bird
heniha (Bird)
miko(Aktayahi)
medicine for women and children
covered fire
Henihas' Bed
Wind (henihálgi)
Panther
Deer and Potato were also in this bed
Warriors' Bed
ball ground

Fig. 60.—Plan of the Eufaula Square Ground (II)

closely related. Their connection with the Abihka is more remote, but it is interesting to find it recognized as closer than their connection with the Coosa. The Coosa appear only in the Chekilli narrative as a people encountered by the Kasihta and their allies on their journey eastward. In confirmation of this we find that in the Tulsa narrative, and in that of Milfort, the two which probably represent the Coosa story, the Kasihta and Coweta are not mentioned; indeed

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNll Creek NNll
Muskogee

173
642

no tribe is except the Coosa and its later divisions. If we consider the traditions by themselves, then, we seem to find that one body of Muskogee came from the west and subsequently divided into two parts which came to be known as Kasihta and Coweta, and that they were early associated with another tribe, probably also Muskhogean, the Abihka. The Coosa, on the other hand, came from the west independently, and had no subdivisions until much later. The explanation of the two divisions of towns or "fires" is given in Judge Gregory's story, and there is reason to believe that they did actually originate with the division of the easternmost band of Creeks into Kasihta and Coweta, although the specific account of it is, of course, entirely mythic. This now seems plausible because, in the first place, these two towns are the only pair seemingly sprung from one stem, which are conspicuously set over against each other as leaders of the opposing sides, there being no such pairing of the Upper Creek leading towns. Moreover, Bartram records a traditional belief that the Creek confederacy had originated at the old town of Okmulgee on the river of that name—i. e., among the Lower Creeks. The later Okmulgee town was a Hitchiti settlement, but Muskogee lived along Ocmulgee River at an early date. In De Soto's time the people of Cofitachequi, which we have identified as Kasihta, knew Coosa well, and it is not improbable that the basis of the confederacy had already been laid. It is likely that it was in existence before the Tukabahchee united with the other towns, in spite of the later prominence of the former and in spite of the fact that some Creeks will tell you that the busk fire originated with the Tukabahchee and was by them distributed to the rest.

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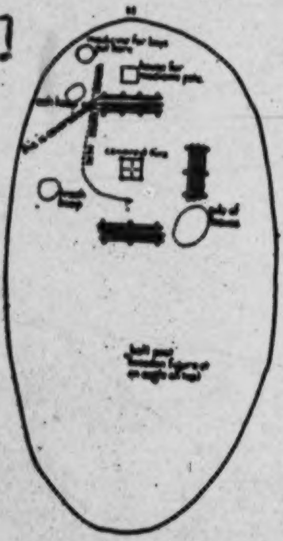

FIG. 62.—Eufaula Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Woodward says it was a matter of dispute among the Creeks whether Kasihta or Tukabahchee was settled first, but it was generally conceded that Kasihta was first settled.[38] Unfortunately we have no record, mythic or otherwise, as to how the friendship between Kasihta, Abihka, and Coosa grew up other than the references in the stories already given, and these do not explain why the friendship was between Abihka, Coosa, and Kasihta, rather than Abihka,

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[38] Woodward, Reminiscences, p. 22.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Alabama

Coosa, and Coweta. The oldest Upper Creek town on the Red side was probaby Łiwahali, but we do not know what its ancient relations were with Kasihta and Coweta. As between Coweta and Tukabahchee, we have some inkling of the mythic foundation for the friendship existing between them, in myths already given, and it is noteworthy that, if we take the testimony of a Tulsa Indian—which should have been comparatively unbiased—as well as that which may be derived from historical sources, Coweta was then the more important. The myths also tell us something of the relations between Łiwahali, Atasi, and Tukabahchee, but it is probable that

173
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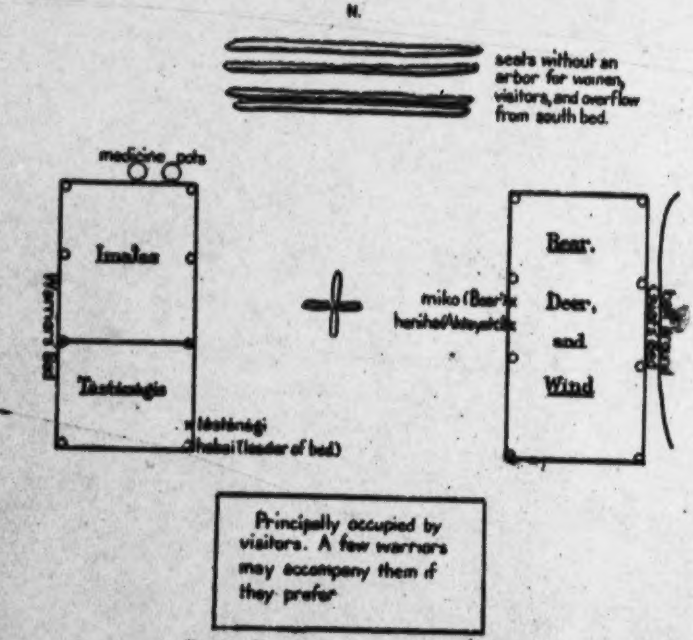
N.
seats without an arbor for women, visitors, and overflow from south bed.
medicine pots
Imalas
Tastanagis
Warriors' bed
tastanagi
hobai (leader of bed)
miko (Bear)
heniha
Bear,
Deer,
and
Wind
Principally occupied by visitors. A few warriors may accompany them if they prefer

FIG. 64.—Plan of the Alabama Square Ground (I)

the first was already a friend of Coweta, Łiwahali having been long settled in the Upper Creek country.[24] From the scraps of information we can gather it would appear that Hilibi and Eufaula had once been situated farther east, and they may have been Red towns from early times. Altogether, it appears that the Red towns were fewer and mutually more independent than the White towns. With the exception of Coweta and its branch Łikatcha, the two Eufaulas, Upper and Lower, and probably Tukabahchee, Atasi, Kealedji, and Hatchee tcaba, the Red towns do not fall into well marked family

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[24] Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 254-[illegible].

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Alabama

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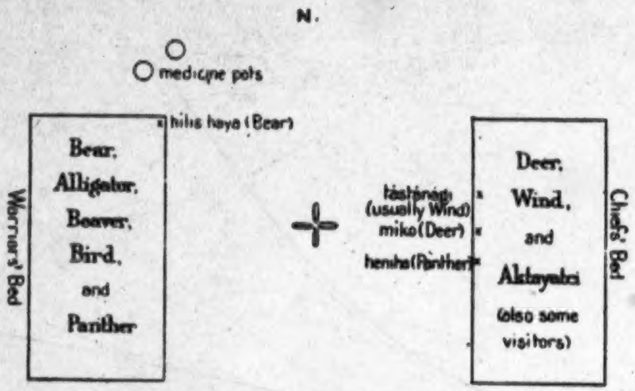
N.
medicine pots
hilis haya (Bear)
Bear,
Alligator,
Beaver,
Bird,
and
Panther
Warriors' Bed
tastanagi
(usually Wind)
miko (Deer)
heniha (Panther)
Deer,
Wind,
and
Akfayatci
(also some
visitors)
Chiefs' Bed

FIG. 65.—Plan of the Alabama Square Ground (II)

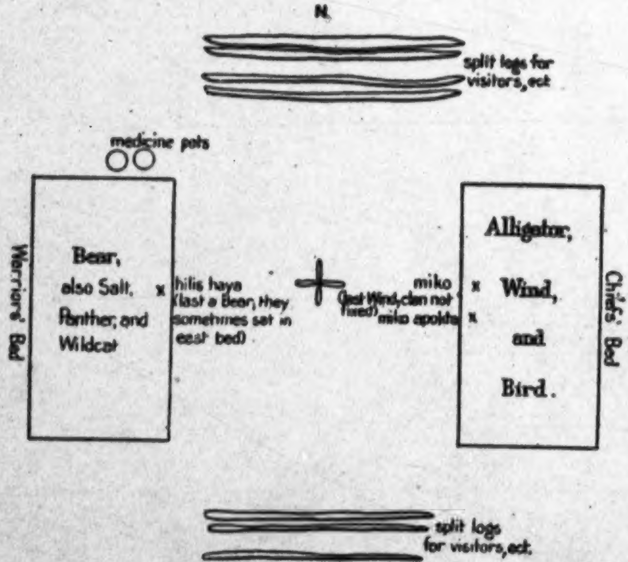
N.
split logs for
visitors, ect.
medicine pots
Bear,
also Salt,
Panther, and
Wildcat
Warriors' Bed
hilis haya
(last a Bear, they
sometimes set in
east bed)
miko
(last Wind, clan not
fixed)
miko apokta
Alligator,
Wind,
and
Bird.
Chiefs' Bed
split logs
for visitors, ect.

FIG. 66.—Plan of the Alabama Square Ground (III)

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Alabama
Muskogee

344
621

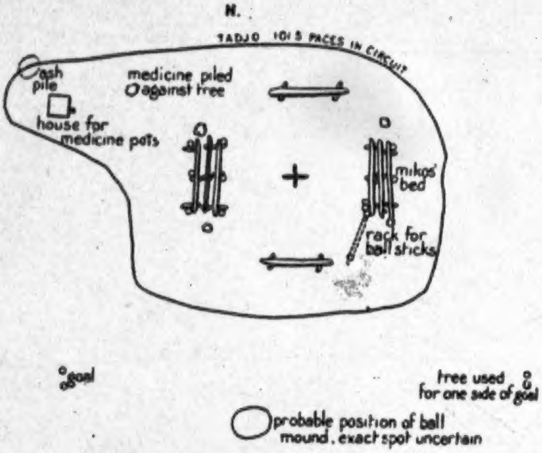
N.
TADJO 1015 PACES IN CIRCUIT
ash pile
medicine piled against tree
house for medicine pots
mikos' bed
rack for ball sticks
goal
tree used for one side of goal
probable position of ball mound, exact spot uncertain

FIG. 67.—The Alabama Ceremonial Ground in 1912

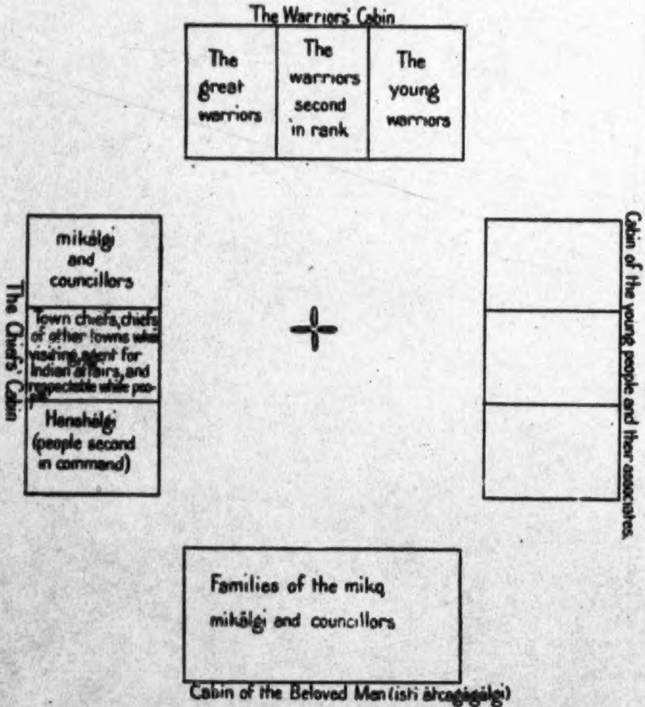
The Warriors' Cabin
The great warriors
The warriors second in rank
The young warriors
The Chiefs' Cabin
mikálgi and councillors
Town chiefs, chiefs of other towns whi visiting, agent for Indian affairs, and respectable white people
Henehálgi (people second in command)
Cabin of the young people and their associates.
Families of the mikq mikálgi and councillors
Cabin of the Beloved Men (isti ätcagágálgi)

FIG. 68.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (from Hawkins)

173
642

groups. And with the exception of Tukabahchee and its associates, which, although later comers, were probably Muskogee in speech, there were few towns on this side of alien blood. The only certain exceptions, in fact, were Chiaha and Osochi. The former, in some way or other, had early entered upon terms of the greatest intimacy

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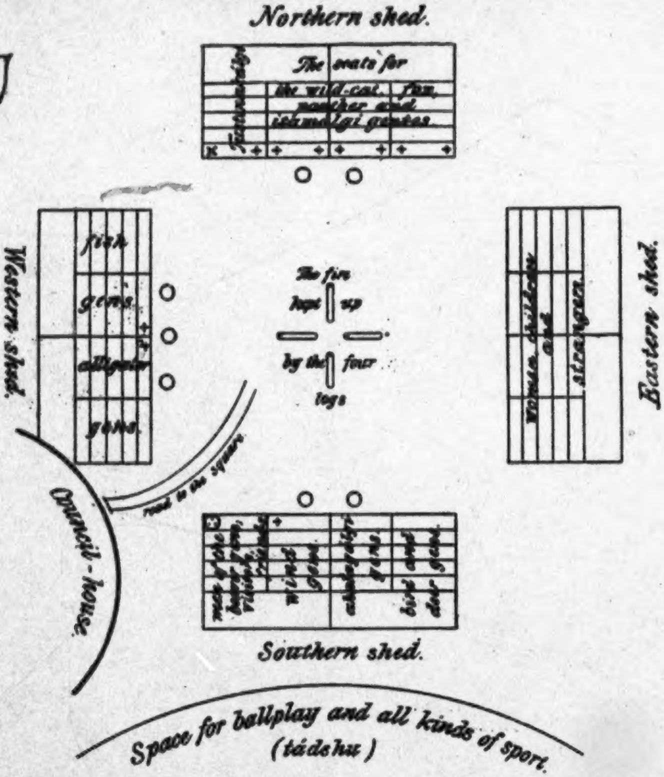
Northern shed.
The seats for the wild-cat, fox, panther and ishmalgi gentes
Western shed.
fish gens
alligator gens
The fire kept up by the four logs
Eastern shed.
women, children and strangers
road to the square
Council-house.
wind
bird
deer
Southern shed.
Space for ballplay and all kinds of sport (tádshu)

FIG. 69.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (from Gatschet)

with Coweta, and it is probable that the Osochi had come into the same relation by first entering upon terms of friendship with the Chiaha. This substantiates a statement of one of my informants that "most of the foreign towns were taken in upon the White side" because it was the side which made a business of peacemaking. In late years the Alabama have joined the Red towns, but this, as we have seen,[25] was probably due to a difference with the Okchai with whom they had temporarily united. With Kasihta there came to be associated all of the Hitchiti-speaking towns—except Chiaha and Osochi—the Yuchi, and even the Chickasaw, while among the Upper Creeks, the Okchai, Tuskegee, Koasati, and—originally—the Alabama were White. To these the Pakan tallahassee should perhaps be added. The number of White towns was also augmented by the splitting up of Coosa into Okfuskee and its branches, Otciapofa and the Tulsa towns, while it is probable that the Wakokai towns came from these or from the Abihka.

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[25] See p. 256.

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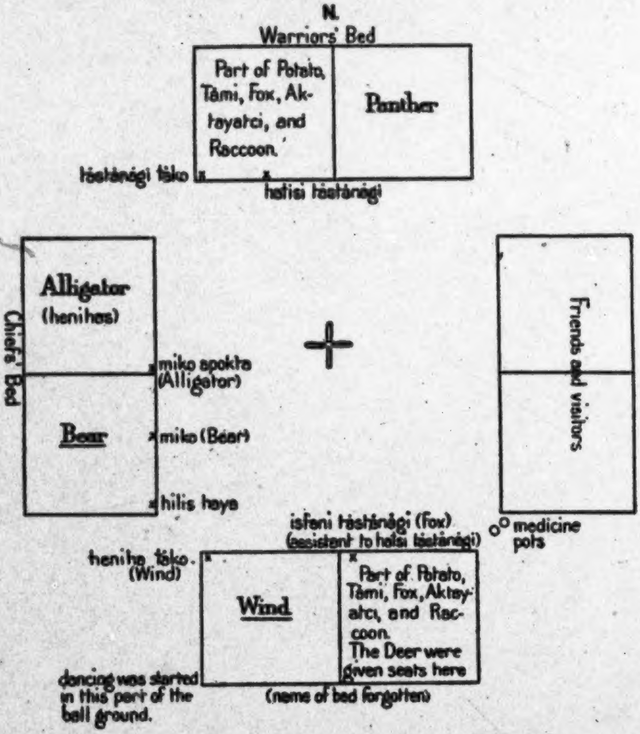
N.
Warriors' Bed
Part of Potato, Tämi, Fox, Aktayatci, and Raccoon.
Panther
tastanägi täko
hatisi tastanägi
Alligator (henihas)
Chiefs' Bed
miko apokta (Alligator)
Bear
miko (Bear)
hilis haya
Friends and visitors
isfani tastanägi (Fox) (assistant to hatisi tastanägi)
medicine pots
heniha täko. (Wind)
Wind
Part of Potato, Tämi, Fox, Aktayatci, and Raccoon.
The Deer were given seats here
dancing was started in this part of the ball ground.
(name of bed forgotten)

FIG. 70.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (III)

642
614

Along with the introduction of foreign elements we should look for greater clan complexity, and this, as has already been indicated, we seem to find. Of course, the appearance and disappearance of clans need have nothing to do with outside elements, but where we observe an association between certain clans and such elements the suggestion that the association is more than accidental naturally arises. In any event such associations are worth noting for their

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

642
614

possible bearing on future investigations. Thus the Mole, Toad, Tcokote, and Snake clans are found associated most closely with the Hitchiti-speaking communities, and with the Seminole settlements, which are known to have contained a considerable Hitchiti element. The Kapitca and Pahosa, which are especially prominent among the Seminole, may have had a similar origin. The Salt and Daddy-longlegs clans are similarly associated with the Alabama, the Eagle, Woksi, and Łidjami with the Tukabahchee and related towns and the Raccoon with the Tukabahchee and Okchai, as also the Abihka. The Turkey and Wildcat are the most conspicuous clans among the Koasati at the present time, though the latter at least was widely distributed. Turning to the purer Muskogee divisions we find that the Aktayatci is most conspicuous among the Hilibi, the Eufaula, and in the Wiogufki groups of towns and that the Beaver clan attains special prominence in the Tulsa towns, although it is also a pronounced

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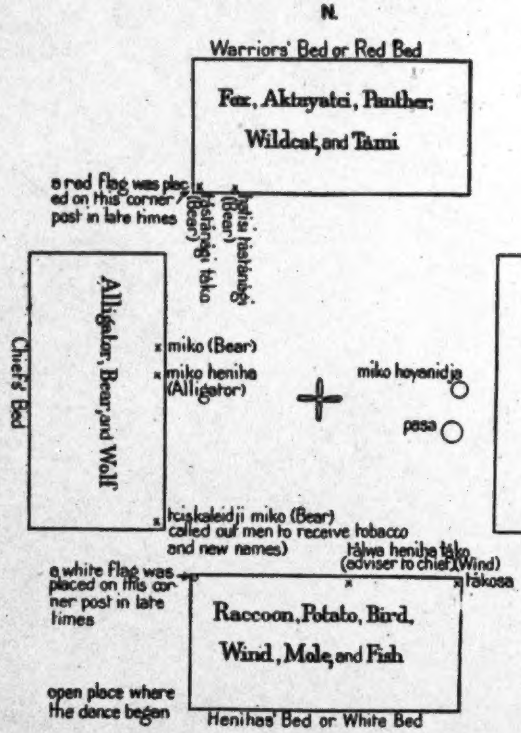
N.
Warriors' Bed or Red Bed
Fox, Aktayatci, Panther, Wildcat, and Tâmi
a red flag was placed on this corner post in late times
tastánagi tako (Bear)
hotisa hastánagi (Bear)
Chief's Bed
Alligator, Bear, and Wolf
miko (Bear)
miko heniha (Alligator)
miko hoyanidja
pasa
tciskaleidji miko (Bear) called out men to receive tobacco and new names)
tâlwa heniha tâko (adviser to chief)(Wind)
tâkosa
a white flag was placed on this corner post in late times
Raccoon, Potato, Bird, Wind, Mole, and Fish
open place where the dance began
Henihas' Bed or White Bed

FIG. 71.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (IV)

Hitchiti
Southeastern Indians

factor among the Alabama and Koasati of Texas and Louisiana. The Skunk is conspicuous among towns of the Okfuskee connection, while the Alligator, Fish, and Potato people seem more in evidence among the Lower Creeks than elsewhere. Although very widely distributed, the Wind and Bear seem most prominent and influential in towns supposed to be pure Muskogee.

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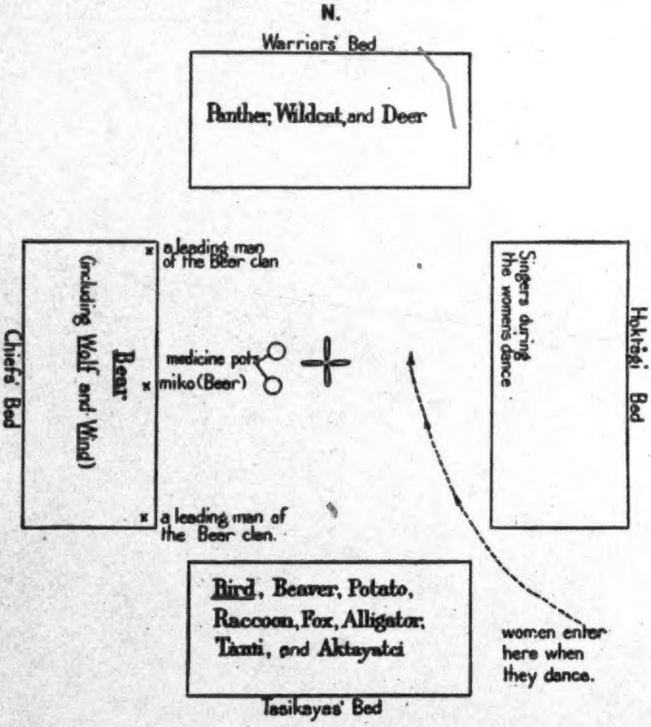
N.
Warriors' Bed
Panther, Wildcat, and Deer
a leading man of the Bear clan
Chief's Bed
Bear (including Wolf and Wind)
medicine pots
miko (Bear)
a leading man of the Bear clan.
Singers during the women's dance
Hoktagi Bed
Bird, Beaver, Potato, Raccoon, Fox, Alligator, Tami, and Aktayatci
women enter here when they dance.
Tasikayas' Bed

FIG. 72.—Plan of the Okmulgee Square Ground

It will also be of interest to compare the clan divisions found within the Creek confederacy with those among surrounding tribes belonging to the same totemic area. These include the Timucua of northern Florida, the Chickasaw, and the Cherokee, to which perhaps may be added the Natchez living among the Cherokee and the Yuchi. There were also exogamous divisions among some of the eastern Siouan tribes and we must allow for the possibility that there existed a connection between the totemic system of the Chickasaw and those of the Caddo and Chitimacha. Upon the whole, however, it would

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1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Hitchiti

Southeastern Indians NN3

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seem most probable that the Caddo and Chitimacha areas were independent of the Chickasaw.

On comparing the clans found among the first tribes which we have mentioned we find at once that the clan names most widely extended were those of the Deer and Bird which appear among all these peoples. The reader should be warned at the beginning, however, that some of the other Cherokee clan names may originally have referred metaphorically to animals and that some of the as yet untranslated Timucua clan names may be of totemic significance.

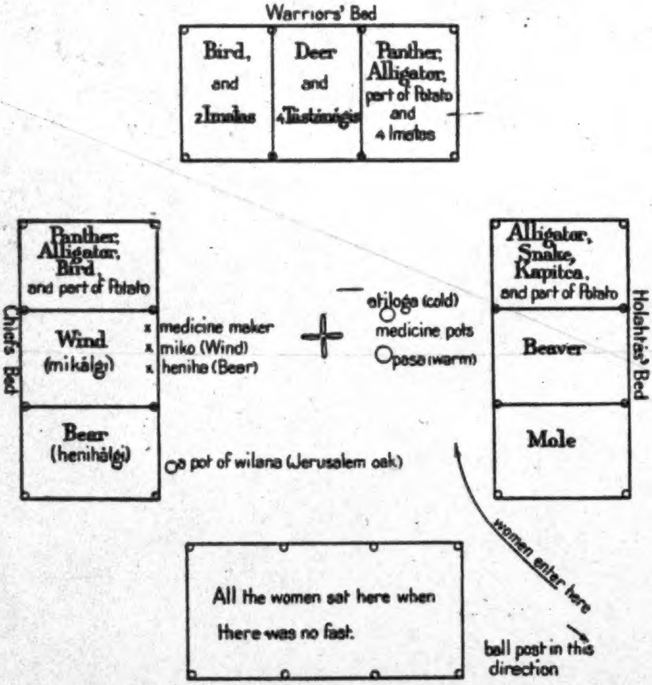
Warriors' Bed
Bird, and 2 Imalas
Deer and 4 Tastanagis
Panther, Alligator, part of Potato and 4 Imatas
Panther, Alligator, Bird, and part of Potato
Chiefs' Bed
Wind (mikálgi)
Bear (henihálgi)
x medicine maker
x miko (Wind)
x heniha (Bear)
o pot of wilana (Jerusalem oak)
atiloga (cold)
medicine pots
pasa (warm)
Alligator, Snake, Kapitca, and part of Potato
Holahtas' Bed
Beaver
Mole
women enter here
All the women sat here when there was no fast.
ball post in this direction

FIG. 73.—Plan of the Apalachicola Square Ground (Tálwa láko) (I)

A Panther clan is found among the Timucua, Natchez, Chickasaw, Yuchi, and Creeks, a Bear clan among all of these except the Chickasaw, a Fish clan among all except the Natchez, and a Raccoon clan among all but the Timucua. A Wolf clan existed among the Cherokee, Yuchi, and Creeks, as also among the Chickasaw if we may trust Morgan; in Florida it may have been represented by the Dog clan. The Wildcat is mentioned specifically only among the Chickasaw, Yuchi, and Creeks, but wherever there was a Panther clan a Wildcat clan is apt to make its appearance sooner or later associated

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Hitchiti
Southeastern Indians

NN3

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with it. There was a Fox clan among the Yuchi and Creeks, a White Fox clan in Florida, and a Fox or Red Fox clan among the Chickasaw; a Skunk clan among the Chickasaw, Yuchi, and Creeks; and Wind and Beaver clans among the Natchez, Yuchi, and Creeks. Morgan reports a Chickasaw Alligator clan, and one of my own informants gave the Alligator as a Yuchi clan, but Speck makes no mention of it. It was, of course, well known to the Creeks. A Snake clan makes its appearance among the Natchez, the Creeks, and probably the Yuchi. Spanish clans (Isfani) played a rather important part in the Creek and Chickasaw nations, but the Buzzard clan, which seems to have attained great prominence in Florida, is entirely wanting among the people north of it except possibly the Yuchi. The only subdivision corresponding to the Earth clan of the Timucua was an obscure Creek division mentioned only by one authority and called the Fresh Land clan. A Squirrel clan is reported by Morgan from the Chickasaw and by Speck from the Yuchi, and Morgan is confirmed by some evidence which I myself collected. A Partridge

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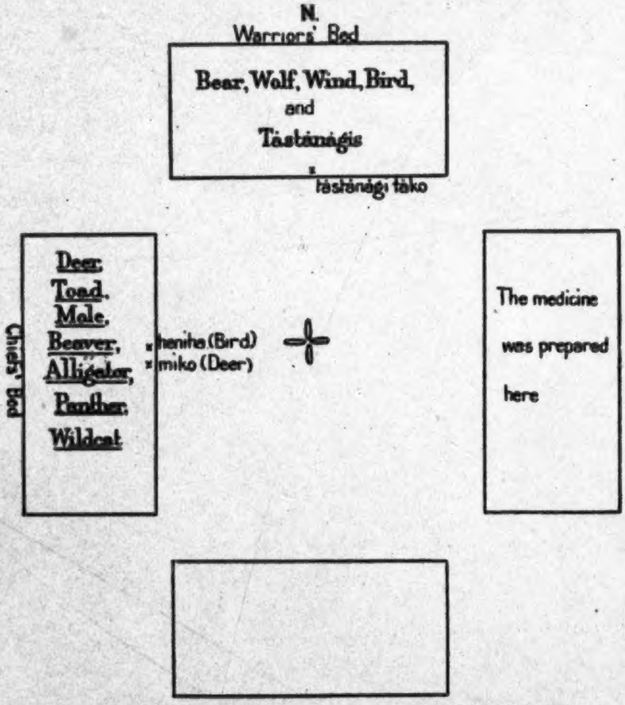
N.
Warriors' Bed
Bear, Wolf, Wind, Bird, and Tástánagis
x tástánagi táko
Chiefs' Bed
Deer.
Toad.
Mole.
Beaver,
Alligator,
Panther.
Wildcat
x heniha (Bird)
x miko (Deer)
The medicine was prepared here

Fig. 74.—Plan of the Apalachicola Square Ground (Tálwa łáko) (II)

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Hitchiti
Southeastern Indians
NN3

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clan is found only in Florida, and a Chief clan only among the Chickasaw. The Blackbird which Morgan reports as existing among the Chickasaw and the Haloba recorded among the same people by Gibbs are equally unique.

The order of distribution would, therefore, be something like this:

1. Bird, Deer.
2. Panther (and Wildcat).
3. Bear, Fish, Raccoon.

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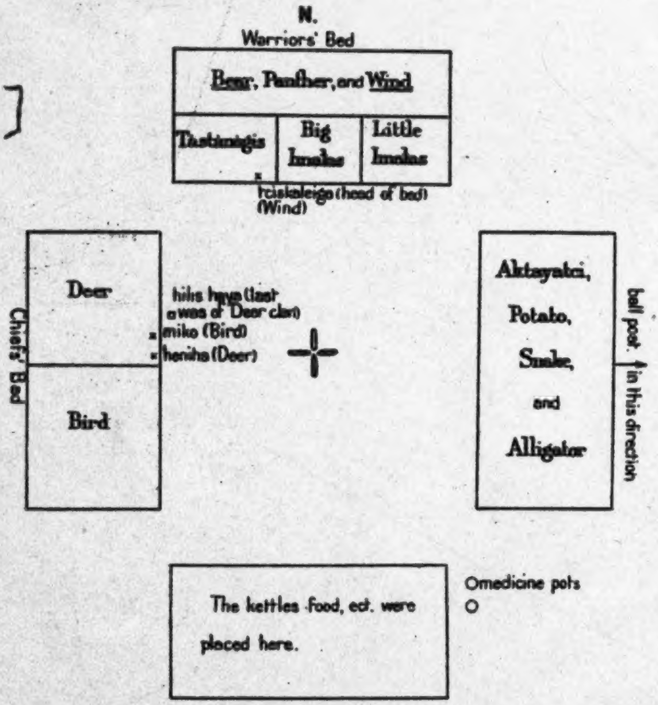
N.
Warriors' Bed
Bear, Panther, and Wind
Tastanagis
Big Imalas
Little Imalas
tcaskaleiga (head of bed) (Wind)
Chiefs' Bed
Deer
Bird
hilis haya (last one was of Deer clan)
miko (Bird)
heniha (Deer)
Aktayatci,
Potato,
Snake,
and
Alligator
ball post in this direction
O medicine pots
The kettles food, ect. were placed here.

Fig. 75.—Plan of the Hitchiti Square Ground

4. Wolf, Fox.
5. Skunk.
6. Wind, Beaver.
7. Alligator, Snake.
8. Spanish.
9. Buzzard, Earth, Squirrel.

The importance of the deer in the economic life of the Southeast will readily account for the wide distribution of the Deer clan, but it is not so easy to explain the popularity of a clan bearing such a general name as the Bird. Possibly the name had something to do with the

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on the basis of the data at hand. There seems some reason to think that the three leading White clans, Wind, Bear, and Bird, were from very early times connected with the true Muskogee, that the Deer and Panther, possibly introduced from Florida, formed the nucleus of the War element at one time, or in certain towns, and that, in other towns—or perhaps at a later period—they were displaced by the Raccoon-Potato-Fox clans. It is also possible that, in this latter association, the Potato and Fox may represent an older element

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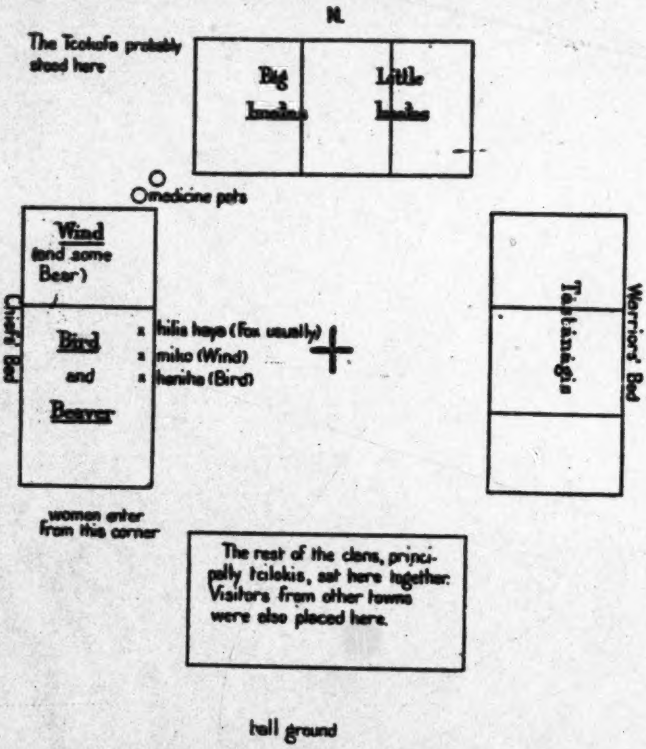
N.
The Tcokofa probably stood here
Big Imalas
Little Imalas
medicine pots
Wind (and some Bear)
Chiefs' Bed
Bird and Beaver
x hilis haya (Fox usually)
x miko (Wind)
x heniha (Bird)
Warriors' Bed
Tastanagis
women enter from this corner
The rest of the clans, principally tcilokis, sat here together. Visitors from other towns were also placed here.
ball ground

FIG. 77.—Plan of the Coweta Square Ground (I)

later strengthened by the Raccoon at the period of immigration of the Tukabahchee and Okchai. From the habitat of the reptile and its relative prominence among the Lower Creeks we may also guess that the Alligator clan had its origin somewhere in the south, though there seems to have been no such clan in Florida.

The writer has been adversely criticized for suggesting a foreign origin for one of the two moieties of certain of the north Pacific coast tribes on the basis of the names and traditions connected with it.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee
Southeastern Indians NN3

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171
614
S.
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Nevertheless, whether this has a historical or psychological basis or both, the same phenomenon reappears in the Southeast. Here, as we have seen, the clans opposed to the Whites, presumably those considered war clans, were known as Tcilokogálgi, "people of a different speech." Not only so, but, as we have seen, in the most ancient pure Muskogee towns, the White clans are the most prominent and are those from which the town chief is oftenest selected. This is the condition in Kasihta, Coweta, and above all among the Okfuskee, the people supposedly descended from ancient Coosa. On the other hand the Raccoon clan rises to prominence in Tukabahchee and Okchai, and the towns related to these, and the Aktayatci clan in Wiogufki, Hilibi, and Eufaula. I will not attempt to carry the argument any farther, for it may easily be overdone, but leave the facts to the consideration of future students.

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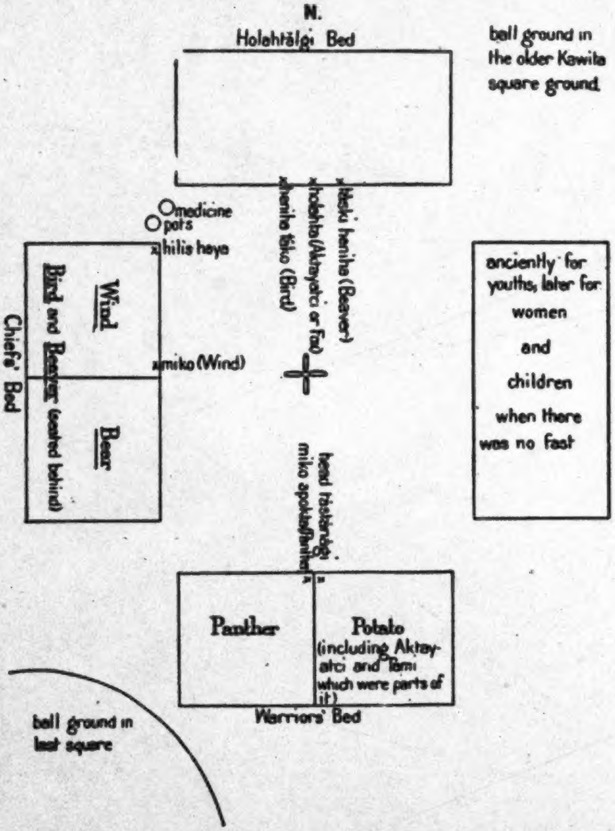
N.
Holahtálgi Bed
ball ground in the older Kawita square ground
medicine pots
hilis haya
taski heniha (Beaver)
holahta (Aktayatci or Fox)
heniha täko (Bird)
Wind
Bird and Beaver
Chiefs' Bed
miko (Wind)
Bear
(seated behind)
anciently for youths, later for women and children when there was no fast
head tastanagi
miko apokta/heniha
Panther
Potato (including Aktayatci and Tami which were parts of it)
Warriors' Bed
ball ground in last square

FIG. 78.—Plan of the Coweta Square Ground (II)

GOVERNMENT

619 621 642 The Creek governmental unit was a body of people living for the most part in a single locality and known as a tålwa. As has been already stated, this word is now used in a rather loose sense and is generally translated "town," but its connotation rather covers the English concept "tribe." Some bodies which the Creeks called tålwa were once independent, and anciently it is probable that the term applied only to distinct tribes, and that in later years it was used for those same tribes as constituent parts of the Creek confederation, while still later it was given to new bodies which separated from these, particularly such as came to have square grounds of their own.

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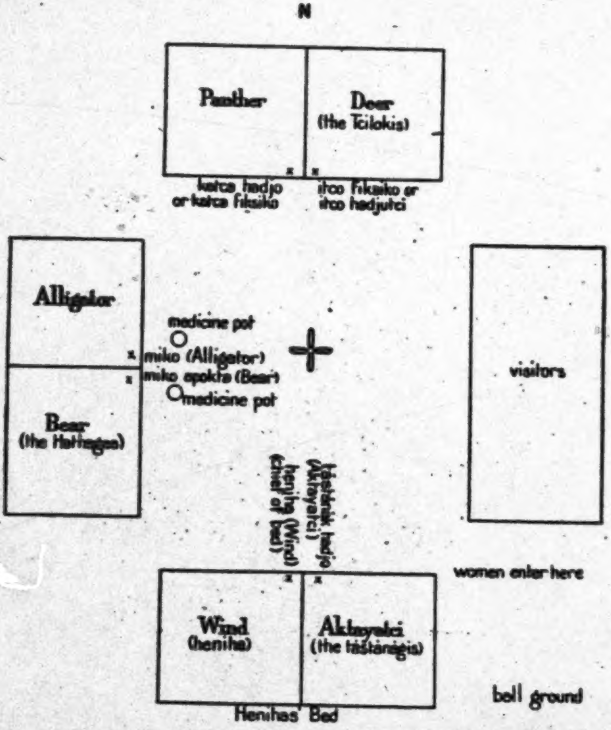
N
Panther
Deer
(the Tcilokis)
katca hadjo
or katca fiksiko
itco fiksiko or
itco hadjutci
Alligator
Bear
(the Hatteges)
medicine pot
miko (Alligator)
miko apokta (Bear)
medicine pot
visitors
tastanagi hadjo
(Akbayatci)
heniha (Wind)
(chief of bed)
women enter here
Wind
(heniha)
Akbayatci
(the tastanagis)
ball ground
Henihas' Bed

FIG. 70.—Plan of the Square Ground of Łikatcka or Broken Arrow

[622] After their admission to the federated body each tålwa remained virtually self-governing; its principal executive officer was known in the Muskogee language as the miko. Swan says that up to his time the Red towns had always been governed by warriors, the White towns alone being under mikos.

Muskogee

619
622
616

towns alone being under mikos.[36] If he[1] means by warriors men bearing the title tástanági we can only say that we have not the slightest proof of it other than his statement. If he means that Red towns were governed by mikos from Red clans he is probably right, as we have already seen. We may say regarding the miko, as he is exhibited to us both by early writers and by the Creeks themselves, that he was usually associated with peace. The bed in which he sat at the square ground was almost always occupied by White clans except when the chief himself belonged to a Red clan and then the only exceptions were in the cases of the miko's clan and clans linked to it. Moreover, the Chiefs' bed is often called "the White bed." The miko is thus the head of the town as a civil body as contrasted with its military activities. I have been told that in ancient times the miko had particular charge of the big house or tcokofa and the public granary. Hawkins says of him that he "superintends all public and domestic concerns; receives all public characters; hears their

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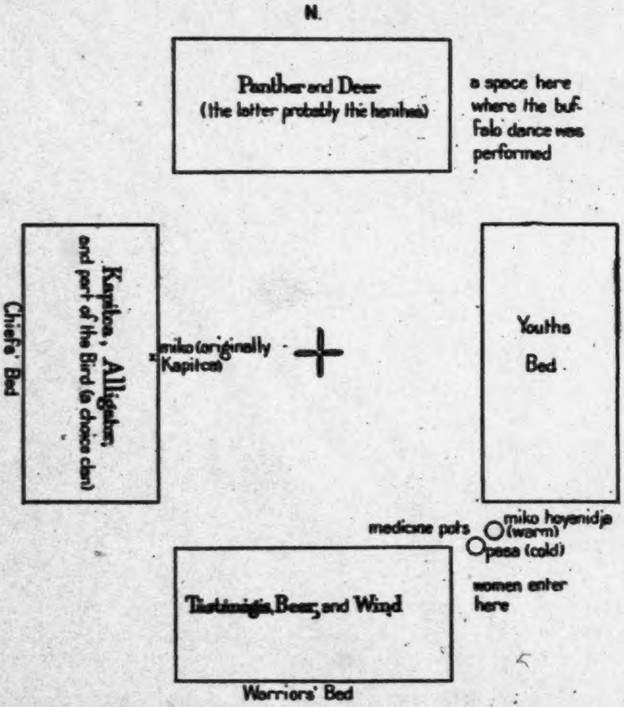
N.
Panther and Deer
(the latter probably the henihas)
a space here where the buffalo dance was performed
Kapitca, Alligator, and part of the Bird (a choice clan)
Chiefs' Bed
miko (originally Kapitca)
Youths Bed
medicine pots
miko hoyanidja (warm)
pasa (cold)
women enter here
Tástanágis, Bear, and Wind
Warriors' Bed

FIG. 89.—Plan of the Square Ground of Eufaula Hobayi (I)

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[36] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 279.

[1][i.e., Swan.-- Analyst]

622 talks; lays them before the town, and delivers the talks of his town."[27] Bartram remarks:

[574] "He has the disposal of the corn and fruits, and gives audience to ambassadors, deputies, and strangers who come to the town or tribe, receives presents, etc. He[1] alone has the privilege of giving a public feast to the whole town, consisting of barbecued bear or fat bulls or steers, which he must kill himself; and this is called the king's

[344
621]

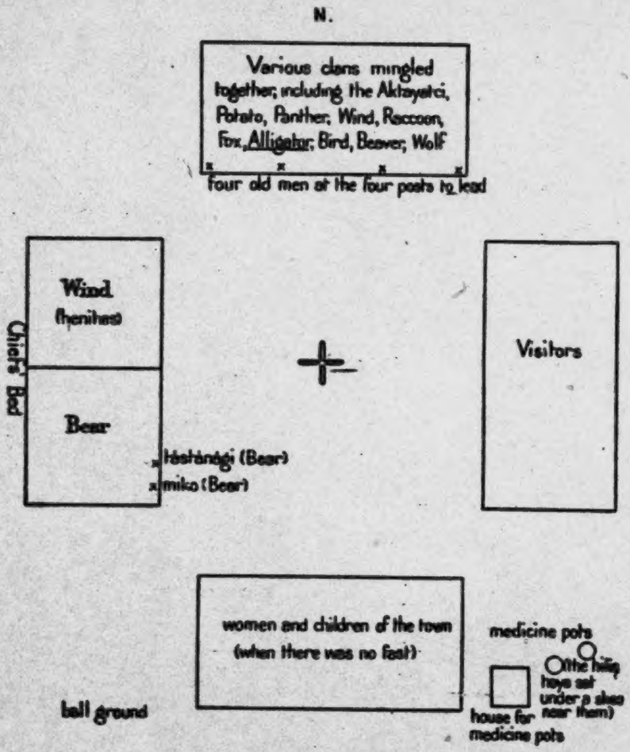
N.
Various clans mingled together, including the Aktayatci, Potato, Panther, Wind, Raccoon, Fox, Alligator, Bird, Beaver, Wolf
four old men at the four posts to lead
Wind (henihas)
Bear
Chiefs' Bed
tastanági (Bear)
miko (Bear)
Visitors
women and children of the town (when there was no feast)
ball ground
medicine pots
(the hilis haya sat under a shed near them)
house for medicine pots

FIG. 81.—Plan of the Square Ground of Eufaula Hobayi (II)

feast, or royal feast. And when he intends to give this frolic, after a successful hunt, he sends messengers to prepare the village. They display the king's standard in front and at one corner of his house, and hoist a flag in the Public Square, beat drums about the town, and the inhabitants dress and paint themselves, for there is dancing and frolicking all that night."[28]

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[27] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 69.

[28] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 24.

[1] [i.e., the miko. -- Analyst]

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Hitchiti

622

Speck says regarding the Tuskegee miko:

"The function of this dignitary, as the civil head of the town, was to receive all embassies from other tribes, to direct the decisions of the town council according to his judgment, and finally to stand as the representative of the town in foreign negotiations. . . . The town chief had also to appoint the time for the annual harvest ceremony. He had personal charge of the town square and the lodges about it, and it was his duty to distribute the broken sticks to the heads of families by which they were to number the days to elapse before the ceremony. The Taskigi have been known to depose their town chief on the ground of inefficiency and to elect another from his clan instead."[29]

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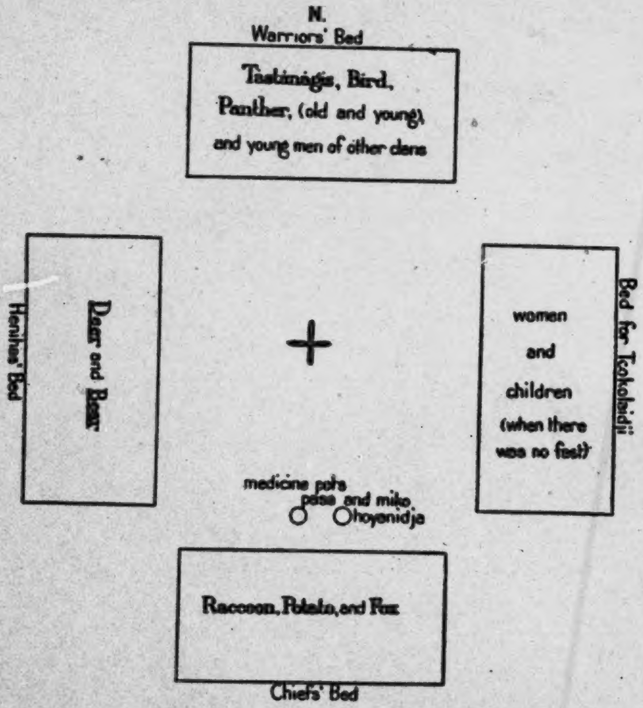
N.
Warriors' Bed
Tastanagis, Bird, Panther, (old and young), and young men of other clans
Henihas' Bed
Deer and Bear
women and children (when there was no fast)
Bed for Tcokolaidji
medicine pots
pasa and miko hoyanidja
Raccoon, Potato, and Fox
Chiefs' Bed

Fig. 82.—Plan of the Chiaha Square Ground (I)

Theoretically the miko was little more than head of the tribal council and spokesman of his tribe, but his actual power varied with his individual ability. Although such cases may have occurred, there is no record of a miko undertaking any important action with-

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[29] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Ass'n, vol. II, p. 113.

622 out conferring with his council. The miko is called "king" by early writers and traders, and in fact the Creeks themselves applied this term to the highest officials among the whites, such as the governors of Carolina and Georgia, and to European monarchs, the King of Great Britain for instance having been known as Antapala miko láko, "the great miko on the other side of [the ocean]." As we have seen, the miko had the seat of honor in the public square, and we learn from Spanish sources that before horses were introduced he was carried about on state occasions in a litter borne on the shoulders of his principal men.

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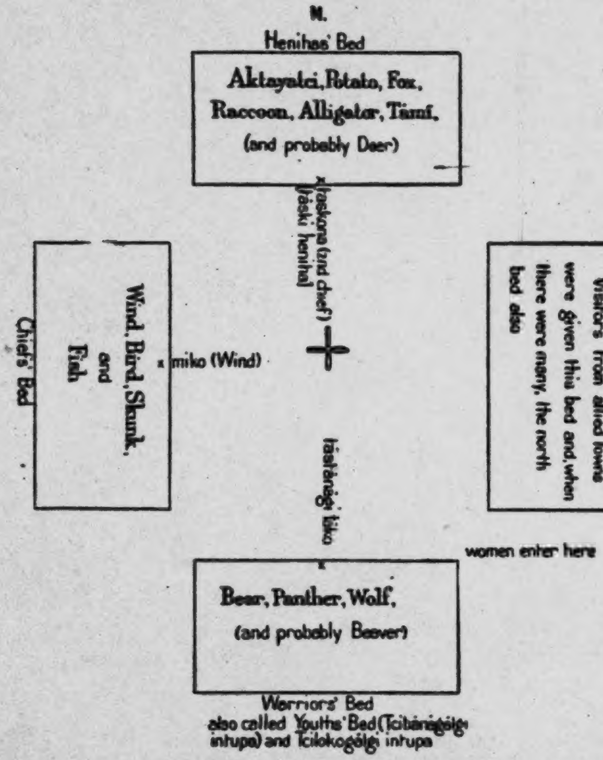
N.
Henihas' Bed
Aktayatci, Potato, Fox, Raccoon, Alligator, Tämf, (and probably Deer)
x Iaskona (2nd chief) [Iäski heniha]
Wind, Bird, Skunk, and Fish
Chiefs' Bed
x miko (Wind)
Visitors from allied towns were given this bed and, when there were many, the north bed also
ball post
Iäsläniägi láko
x
women enter here
Bear, Panther, Wolf, (and probably Beaver)
Warriors' Bed
also called Youths' Bed (Tcibäniagalgi intupa) and Tcilokogalgi intupa

FIG. 83.—Plan of the Chiaha Square Ground (II)

614
622 The association between clanship and the office of miko has already been dwelt upon. It has been shown that the miko was ordinarily chosen from some particular clan, but that the clan would be changed if the tribe suffered any misfortune, or sometimes, as frequently happened in later years, if the royal clan ran out so that no suitable

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Osochi

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person could be found in it to occupy the position. It is probable that readjustments took place even in very early times, for Adair, speaking of the Chickasaw, says: "The most numerous tribe commonly bore the highest command; yet their old warriors assure us, it was not so even within their own remembrance."[30] As between the available candidates inside of the proper clan, selection was made in several different ways, depending on the town. According to a Coweta informant, he was selected by the members of the White clans, including, of course, only those individuals who had seats on the square ground. This agrees partially with what Ispahihtca told Doctor Gatschet, that at Kasihta the chief and "vice-chief" were selected by those who sat in the south or "white" bed.[31] According to the description of the Kasihta square, which Ispahihtca himself gives, all of the clans in that bed were indeed White except the Potato and Deer. His remark may have been intended to cover only the White clans.

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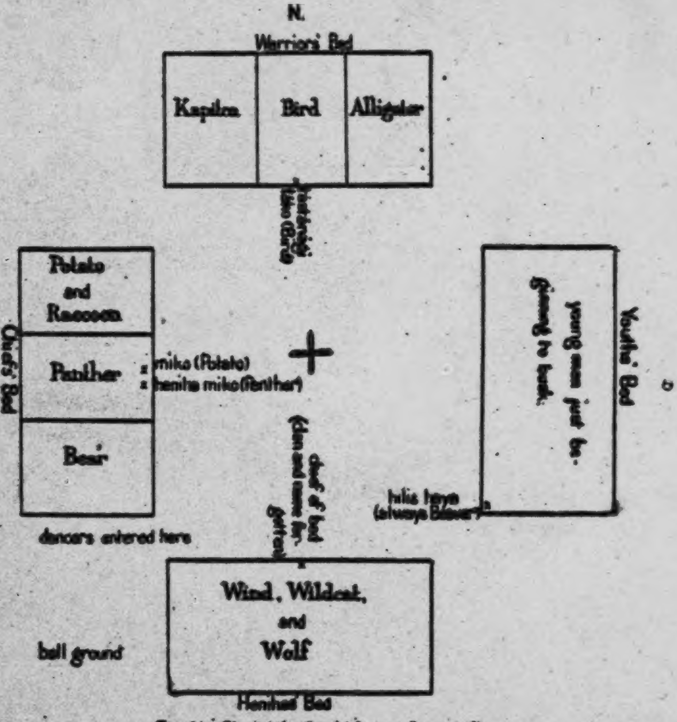
N.
Warriors' Bed
Kapilca
Bird
Alligator
Potato and Raccoon
Panther
Bear
Chief's Bed
miko (Potato)
henihe miko (Panther)
young men just beginning to talk.
Youths' Bed
chief of bed (clan and name forgotten)
hilis haya (always Beaver)
dancers entered here
Wind, Wildcat, and Wolf
ball ground
Henihas' Bed

FIG. 84.—Plan of the Osochi Square Ground (I)

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[30] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 31.

[31] Gatschet, Ms. notes; see p. 82.

Osochi

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According to Jackson Lewis, who was best acquainted with Upper Eufaula, the selection was made by the other members of the same clan, but this seems to have been unusual. According to a Hilibi Indian well versed in everything connected with the organization of a town, the miko was selected by three men, one taken from the clan of the former chief, one from the clan of his father, and a third who *appears not to have belonged to any particular clan. My informant* added that they uniformly selected the humblest person belonging

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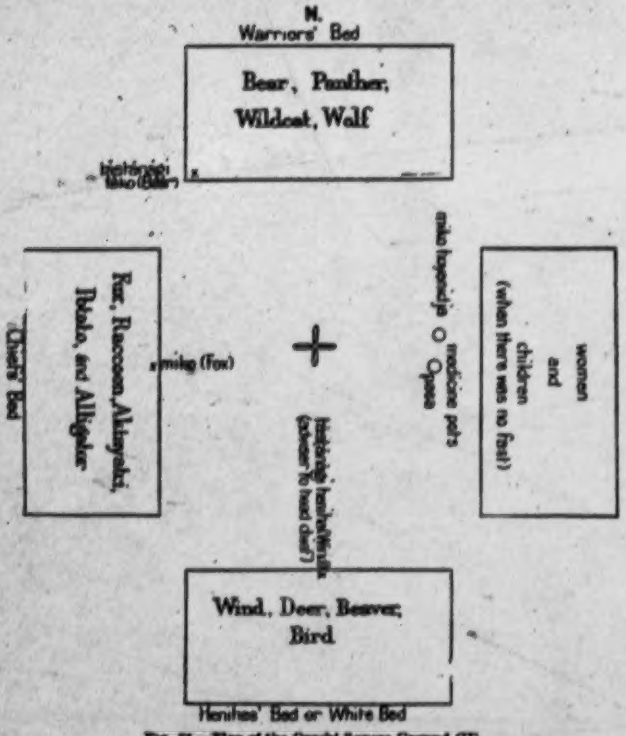
N.
Warriors' Bed
Bear, Panther, Wildcat, Wolf
Chiefs' Bed
Fox, Raccoon, Aktayahtci, Potato, and Alligator
miko (Fox)
miko hopoeidja
medicine pots
women and children (when there was no fast)
Wind, Deer, Beaver, Bird
Henihas' Bed or White Bed

FIG. 85.—Plan of the Osochi Square Ground (II)

to the royal clan and those who picked him out always had to labor with him to induce him to accept. Some of this reluctance was no doubt a matter of etiquette, but the public and ceremonial demands of the position were so great and so much of the well-being or misfortune of the tribe was attributed to the incumbent that he may well have shrunk from the responsibility. The miko was, however, at liberty to resign. Some of those who selected the miko might belong to Red clans but he was always inducted into office by a member of one of the White clans. He was seated upon an unsmoked buckskin and

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

534

a. Drum

•344

b. Ceremonial ground near Braggs, Okla., used by the Natchez, Creek, and Cherokee Indians

342

c. House of the Kila or Prophet Yahola

THE CREEK AND NATCHEZ INDIANS

p. 588 (F)

272 783 throws light upon just this point. He stated that formerly the black drink (ási) was taken at the same time as the busk medicines, though it has now long been abandoned. But, while those who take the ordinary busk medicines go to the medicine pots to drink, the black drink was brought to the drinkers by four bearers. Each of these men would hand a pot of ási to one who was to drink and when the latter placed it to his lips the bearer would utter a cry, which, as described to me, was something like this, "ā-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a dī—i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i," both syllables being drawn out very long and gradually fading away. The drinker had to keep on imbibing the liquid until this cry came to an end. The cry was called the cry of the Yahola, a being described already, who with his companion Hayuya presided particularly over the square ground,[illegible] and it appears to have been uttered on other occasions, as for instance by the official who drew circles on the square ground just before the women's dance to indicate where the women were to stand. It is also said to have been applied to the cry used in calling a youth out when a new war name was to be conferred upon him. By some the medicine bearers were believed to be imitating the rapid fluttering of certain beetles or wasps, and the cries which they made were supposed to be in imitation of them, but this may have been merely an association by analogy. Questions of precedence were very carefully observed in the serving of ási and were, I am informed, an occasion for frequent quarrels.

MINOR CEREMONIES CONNECTED WITH THE SQUARE GROUNDS

•344 796 The communal grounds with their various appurtenances were, of course, laid out in a new place with great ceremony. I have already given all that I know regarding the ceremonies performed in putting up the tcokofa.[illegible] The planting of the ceremonial ball post also took place with certain peculiar observances.

Wiley Buckner, a leading man among the Okchai Indians, said that he had heard that the Alabama Indians before setting up a new post laid a scalp down, placed a stone over that and set the butt end of the post above. Woksi mi'ko, a Hilibi Indian, had heard that, when the Okchai were going to put up a new post, they went into the woods, selected a pine tree suitable for the purpose, and felled it so that it would come down on some logs without touching the ground. Then they cut all of the sap wood away, leaving only the heart of the tree. This done, a number of persons would go out to it, raise it, and carry it to the place where it was to be erected without letting it touch the ground. They would then bring a scalp taken from an

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[illegible] See p. [illegible].

[illegible] See pp. 177-181.

enemy, place it at the bottom of the hole prepared for the pole, and set the pole over it. While this operation was taking place the men engaged in it abstained from food—and probably went through some medicine ceremony—during seven days. Sanger Beaver, an old man of Tcatoksofka, the busk ground of which has long been given up, remembered seeing such a ceremony himself at a time when he was just old enough to take any notice of the customs of his people. He remembered that on one occasion, after they had cleared off the square ground and while they were still fasting, a great crowd of men went into the bottoms and cut down a very tall tree.[34] Without letting this fall to the ground they brought it to the busk ground and dug a hole for it. Then one of the henihas brought a human skull and deposited it at the bottom. They set the pole above this, and afterwards ran around it four times, shouting. Finally the man who had brought the skull climbed to the top of the pole and fixed there a wooden figure of a bird.

When beds were erected for a new ground those who had seats in each vied with one another to see which bed should be up first, and the party which won made great sport of the others as if they had won a ball game. The extra bed for the women and children was finished by all working together.

Big Jack, one of the leading Hilibi Indians, said that before establishing a new fire in the square ground after it had been moved they took some ashes from the old fire and buried them about a foot under ground in the place where the new fire was to be made. A doctor conjured these and repeated a formula over them as he put them in place. A small stone was also brought from the miko's bed in the old square ground and placed under the new one in the same manner. It was to show that the miko ought to be settled like a rock and a man of weight. The posts of the beds—which properly should be eight—particularly the front posts, had to be conjured and some hitci pàkpàgi put into each post hole. The same informant added that all foundations must be started with hitci pàkpàgi, which may therefore have been used under the ball post also. The removal of ashes from old to new fireplaces was confirmed by others and so was the use of hitci pàkpàgi under the posts, but I heard nothing further about the stone. Two of the leading Coweta Indians and a Tulsa Indian said that under their old fire in Alabama the Coweta had a "can" of medicine supposed to contain the dried residue of the first medicine ever used in the old country. It was about an arm's length under ground. When they emigrated to Oklahoma this medicine was dug up, carried along with the emigrants and buried in the same way underneath the fire in the first busk ground on the Arkansas River. But when the square was again moved the medicine was not dug up, and it is supposed to be in the same place. These

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[34] He called it a cedar, but there seems to be some doubt on this point.

344 796 men also affirmed that all Creek towns had such a "can" of medicine, but I am not certain of this. Perhaps they were thinking of the custom of removing ashes from the old fire. However, the Tulsa Indian to whom reference has been made asserted that there was such a custom, and that when the Coweta and Kasihta Indians separated they divided the contents of the medicine "can." The "can" at Coweta was declared to be about 14 inches long by 4 in diameter.

An Okmulgee Indian told me that when the old Lutcapoga busk ground was laid out the Creeks would not use animals to bring out the posts and other timbers but carried them 4 or 5 miles on their shoulders or by means of other sticks run under them.

THE GREAT ANNUAL CEREMONY OR BUSK

796 The word "busk" is a traders' corruption of the native Creek poskita or boskita meaning "a fast." This term was of course applied to many different kinds of fasts, but to two above all, first the fast undergone by those desiring to become doctors or learned men, in the manner to be described presently,[35] and second the great annual ceremonial ushering in the Creek New Year.

796 773 Without doubt there was a long myth relating the origin of this observance and probably detailing how it was to be conducted. Probably there were several such myths. Indeed fragments are preserved in Chekilli's migration legend and in those recorded by Hawkins, Gatschet, and others,[35a] but the Creeks of the present day for the most part know only that it was established in the beginning of things for the benefit of the Indians and that its observance is thought to keep them and their families in good health throughout the ensuing year. A Kasihta informant said that when God made the earth he put in these medicines to be used for the good of the Indians and decreed that they must obey the instructions of the old people. A Coweta Indian also said that the busk customs were given by God when he made the world. Big Jack of Hilibi affirmed that Ibofánga (The-One-Above) gave the Indians the pasa and the miko hoyanidja to keep as long as time should last. Alindja, a Tukabahchee, maintained also that Ibofánga laid the foundation of the fire and gave the medicines to go with it. A Hilibi Indian said that the busk was given by God in earliest times for the good of the Indians, and it was said that all would be well so long as it was kept up. Jackson Lewis merely stated that the origin of the busk had "gone into the mist."

More specific was the information obtained by one of the Tulsa Indians from an old Alabama. This was to the effect that the busk medicines were sent down from God by two old gray-headed men.

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[35] See pp. 617-630.

[35a] See pp. 33-68.

MODERN SQUARE GROUNDS OF THE CREEK INDIANS

By JOHN R. SWANTON,
ETHNOLOGIST, BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

(With Five Plates)

The writer has already published descriptions of many of the square grounds of the Creek Indians, the sacred areas where their busks and other annual ceremonies took place.[1] In collecting this material, however, my endeavor was to learn the most ancient arrangement of the several grounds and the arrangement of those grounds no longer in use. During the summer of 1929 I visited the Creek country again to secure information regarding the organization of the extant grounds. This work duplicates and supplements the earlier to a considerable extent, but the main purpose was somewhat different. 121 114

Besides the three Yuchi grounds, now in the vicinity of Kellyville, Bixby, and Depew, respectively, with which I did not concern myself, there are, or were in 1929, 17 square grounds, as follows: Abihka and Otciapofa near Henryetta; Nuyaka north of Okemah; Łȧłogȧlga[2] or Fish Pond and Ȧsilanabi west of Okemah; two Tulsa grounds near Holdenville; Tukabahchee at Yeager; Łapłȧko near Wetumka; Alabama east of Alabama Station on the Frisco Railroad; Eufaula west of Eufaula; Kasihta east of Okmulgee; and Hilibi, Kealedji, Okchai, Pakan Tallahassee, and Wiogufki about Hanna. Abihka, Otciapofa, Nuyaka, Łȧłogȧlga, Kasihta, Hilibi, Pakan Tallahassee, and Wiogufki were visited, and new information obtained regarding all of the others except Eufaula, of which I secured very good descriptions 17 years before. The Eufaula ground, that of Ȧsilanabi, one of the Tulsa grounds, Tukabahchee, Alabama, and Okchai were visited in the winter of 1911-1912. Kasihta is the only square ground representing the Lower Creeks now maintained. It was not in existence during my earlier work in the Creek Nation, nor were Łapłȧko or Kealedji.[3] These two last and the Yuchi grounds are the only ones that I have not seen. I was present at part of the busks at Otciapofa, Nuyaka, and Pakan Tallahassee. Not much attention was devoted 114 344

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[1] 42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., 1924-25, pp. 204-296, 1928.

[2] In the present paper, ȧ indicates the obscure a in such a word as ability, and ł or Ł is a surd l approximating thl in English.

[3] But see p. 35 regarding the former.

114 ● 344 to the Seminole grounds, but information was obtained regarding one of these, Ochesee Seminole, which had been discontinued in 1912, when I visited the Seminole squares, but was afterwards revived.

000 In order to make the material obtained in 1929 intelligible, it will be necessary to give a brief outline of the Creek political, social, and ceremonial organization.

101 The name Creek is a shortened form of Ochesee Creek Indians, a name which English traders from South Carolina came to apply to that part of the Indians of the Creek Confederation who were living upon Ocmulgee River in the closing decades of the seventeenth century and the opening years of the eighteenth. The word Ochesee signifies "people of a different speech" in the language of the Hitchiti, one of the minor constituents of the Creek Confederacy, being equivalent to the word Tciloki in the Creek or Muskogee language. It was applied to the Creeks proper or Muskogee by the Hitchiti along with many other tribes, but came in some way to be particularly associated with the Muskogee and the river upon which they were then living.

101 619 Anciently there seems not to have been a single term applicable to all of the Muskogee, the latter name having been unknown to the Spaniards who first entered this section. It does not make its appearance until the English had settled in the Carolinas. The origin of the word is uncertain, but there are indications that it was derived from Shawnee, since a band of Shawnee lived for a time near what is now Augusta, Ga., and from a very early period occupied an intermediate position between South Carolina and Georgia on the one hand and the Creek Nation on the other. It is probable that there were originally several tribes speaking the same language but having separate names and that the necessity for a distinguishing term for all did not present itself until the number of non-Muskogee tribes in the Confederation came to be considerable. As to the names of these Muskogee tribes, we seem to have indications of the following: Abihka, Coosa, Okchai, Pakana, Tukabahchee, Hilibi, Eufaula, Kasihta and Coweta (or perhaps an original tribe of which the Kasihta and Coweta were sections). There were some other groups on the lower course of Tallapoosa River, such as the Atasi, Kealedji, and Kolomi, which cannot be definitely placed and may have been independent of these or early subdivisions of them. Of course some may represent people of wholly different connections who had become assimilated to the Muskogee and had lost their own language and customs. This is rendered probable from the fact that we have

determined by the individual ability—usually military—of those who 621
belonged to them. Thus a man might start his public career as a 624
common warrior or tàsikaia, a word now often translated " citizen," be promoted to the position of an imała làbotski, or " Little Imała," then to that of an imała łàko, or " Big Imała," and finally become a tàstanàgi, or " war leader." If sufficiently prominent he might be made a tàstànàgi łàko or hołibonaia, " war speaker," though of these there was never more than one in a town at any one time. There were " beds " or seats in the square grounds for each of these classes,
but not all were promoted into them. Men who belonged to the clan 621
of the chief (miko) would be given seats in his section and form [622]
the mikàlgi, "chiefs," who acted as a kind of special executive 614
council. If they belonged to a certain clan known as henīhàlgi, they 624
would be given seats in another place. The functions of the henīhàlgi are somewhat uncertain but they were concerned largely with the maintenance of peace and charged themselves with the internal prosperity of the tribe. The henīhàlgi were almost always formed of the Wind clan, and if, for any reason, the Wind clan could not be used, the Bird or Beaver, or at least some clan considered White, would take their place. There was also a class of men called istatcagagi, the old, experienced men from all tribes, retired from active service but keepers of the tribal lore. It seems fairly evident that a correlation existed anciently between White towns, White clans, and the henīhàlgi, and that the miko of a White town was generally chosen from a White clan. It is even possible that the miko of a Red town was formerly chosen from a White clan. Certainly there is a marked tendency to choose chiefs from the Bear clan, even in Red towns, though many of them are also from the Raccoon and the Aktayatci.

A word must now be said regarding the ceremonial grounds. 344 ●
Originally every Creek town had such a ground which at a still earlier period was probably the ceremonial ground of a small tribe. As a tribe increased in numbers, however, the ground often became too small to accommodate all of its members comfortably and so it split into two or more. Undoubtedly, before the organization of the Creek Confederation, there was great diversity among these grounds and a certain element of diversity has persisted until the present day, but on the other hand considerable standardization has undoubtedly taken place. Creek legend asserts that the first ceremonial ground was given to the Coweta, the Kasihta, or the Tukabahchee by the Breath Controller or by other supernatural beings, and copied by the remaining towns from them. While this represents a modern

rationalization, there can be no doubt that the earlier ceremonial grounds of the constituent members were altered in many particulars in conformity with the prevailing pattern.

All the grounds known to us originally consisted of three elements, a tcokofa or community hot house used in bad weather or for secret ceremonies, a "square ground," and a "chunkey yard," or ball ground. The name "chunkey yard" is derived from an old pastime which consisted in rolling a stone disk along a level plot of land and throwing certain long poles after it, the game turning on the relative nearness of the poles to the roller after all had come to rest. There was a single pole in the middle of this yard surmounted by a cow or horse skull or by a wooden figure, and about this men and women played against each other in a kind of ball game. This game was mainly confined to people of the town and was social in character while the great ball game, similar to our game of lacrosse, was played by men only and was highly ceremonial. The fact that the "chunkey yard" was a part of the ceremonial ground may indicate that the single pole game formerly had more religious significance than was the case in later times.

The tcokofa has long been out of use, though at Tukabahchee fire was until recently lighted in the middle of a circular offset of the ceremonial ground where this structure would stand if it were still in existence, and one such building was put up at Pakan Tallahassee after the Civil War.

The most important part of the ceremonial area today is the "square ground," so called because in the largest towns there were on it four long cabins or arbors, in native parlance "beds," forming four sides of a square. Partly from tribal idiosyncrasy and still more on account of failing numbers, several of these grounds now lack one cabin, and the Alabama ground lacks two. Today the cabins consist merely of two or three rows of split logs to serve as seats and an arbor of boughs to shield their occupants from the direct rays of the sun, but anciently the seats consisted of mats woven out of cane raised upon short posts and the cabins were provided with a back and roof of wattle or split shingles plastered with clay. The arbors in the largest modern towns are supported on eight posts, four in front and four behind, but some have only six, and most of the Seminole towns only four. On the other hand, a sketch of one of these cabins made by a Frenchman early in the eighteenth century shows ten posts, five in front and five at the back. Today, however, the eight post arrangement seems to be considered orthodox, and the three sections marked off by these posts are used for the seating of as many clans, groups of clans or related officials. 344

Considerable variation in the ancient and intended plan has been brought about by the attrition which the tribe and its several divisions have undergone, loss of the keepers of the sacred lore, and other factors, but it is plain that normally one of the four cabins was mainly devoted to the miko and his clan. Hence it was called mikȧlgi (or mikȧgi) intupa, the "Chiefs' bed.". Another was devoted mainly to the henīhȧlgi and was named from them, another to the higher class of warriors, the tȧstȧnȧgȧlgi, and so received their name, and still another to the novitiate warriors or youths from whom it was called tȧsikaiälgi intupa or tcibȧnȧgȧlgi intupa. The positions of these in the square ground varies considerably. It should be stated in the first place that the cabins are placed normally toward the four points of the compass, but that for some unexplained reason in the square of Tukabahchee the entrances are toward the cardinal points. In the old Kasihta square, which seems to have set the fashion for many other towns, the mikos' cabin lay west, the henihas' south, the tȧstȧnȧgis' north, and the tȧsikaias' east. In the Okfuskee towns, of which Nuyaka is an example, the mikos' cabin lay north, the henihas' east, the tȧstȧnȧgis' west, and the tȧsikaias' south. In Pakan Tallahassee the mikos' cabin is north, the henihas' south, the tȧstȧnȧgis' west, and there is no east cabin. In Eufaula the mikos' cabin is north, the henihas' east and the tȧstȧnȧgis' south, the west cabin being missing. In Alabama, where there are but two cabins, the mikos' cabin is east.

The other variations in the arrangement of the squares will come out in the subjoined material, but before presenting it something must be said regarding town officials.

The miko, as already stated, was chief of the town, its head [622]
presiding officer and responsible executive. Like many of the other 624
officers he had a special companion or henīha taken from the Wind clan or whatever clan occupied the position of henīhȧlgi. This henīha is sometimes called miko apokta, "second chief," but the latter name is also given to still another functionary who shares the burdens of state with his superior. The chief had one or more yatikas or interpreters who also bore the name asimbonaia, "speakers." Unless wanted to make an announcement or to send upon an errand, they sat with their clan or other group to which they normally belonged. The tȧstȧnȧgi łȧko and hołibonaia have been mentioned. The position of hołibonaia, "war speaker" was the most exalted military position, and it is possible that there was only one such official at a time in

ceremonial complications of any sort. It seems to have been usual 796
to hold three of these dances in the spring and early summer, a month apart, the series paving the way for, and leading up to, the second ceremonial, the "busk," which was the great annual ritual. This last is usually considered as lasting four days, though in that four are included the days of assembling and departure. The principal event on the second day is the women's dance. On the third day the men fast, take medicine four times, and near its close march down to the creek and bathe. After they return, they are dismissed to their camps and break their fast. Later they are summoned to the square again where they dance four times, and then the dance becomes "common," visitors from friendly towns being admitted to it. A fire is kept up all night in the center of the square and dancing continues about it until it is nearly day. In former times many, perhaps all, of the towns extended their busks over eight days, but from what can be learned of these longer ceremonials they seem to have been in the main a simple doubling of the shorter ceremony, except for a few features like the kindling of the new fire which took place but once annually.

Let us now turn to the new material regarding the square grounds and the ceremonies conducted there. Under each heading I give the notes obtained from native informants belonging to the square or town in question.

ABIHKA

Figure 1 gives the general arrangement of the square of Abihka, 344
or Talladega, and Plate 1, Figure 1, gives a view of the ground itself 621
near Henryetta, Okla., as it appeared in 1912. The exposure was 796
made from the southwest.

The medicines were taken first by those in the Bears' bed, then in succession by those in the beds of the Raccoon on the west side, the Raccoon on the east side, the Deer, and those in the south bed. The asimbonaia in the northern section of the east cabin acted more particularly as the chief's messenger; the one in the western compartment of the south cabin called first the women and then the children to come to take their medicine from the vessel at the north end of the east cabin. The ta'palas were changed every four years. The women gathered preparatory to their dance at a tree on the edge of the tádjo (the ridge of sweepings that makes the edge of the ceremonial ground) and entered the section about the fire at its northwestern corner. Five pots of medicine were prepared at the north end of the west cabin (fig. 1, 11). Afterward one pot

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was placed a little farther north and west for the boys (12) and another was carried around to the north end of the east cabin fo the women and children (13). The ingredients of this medicin

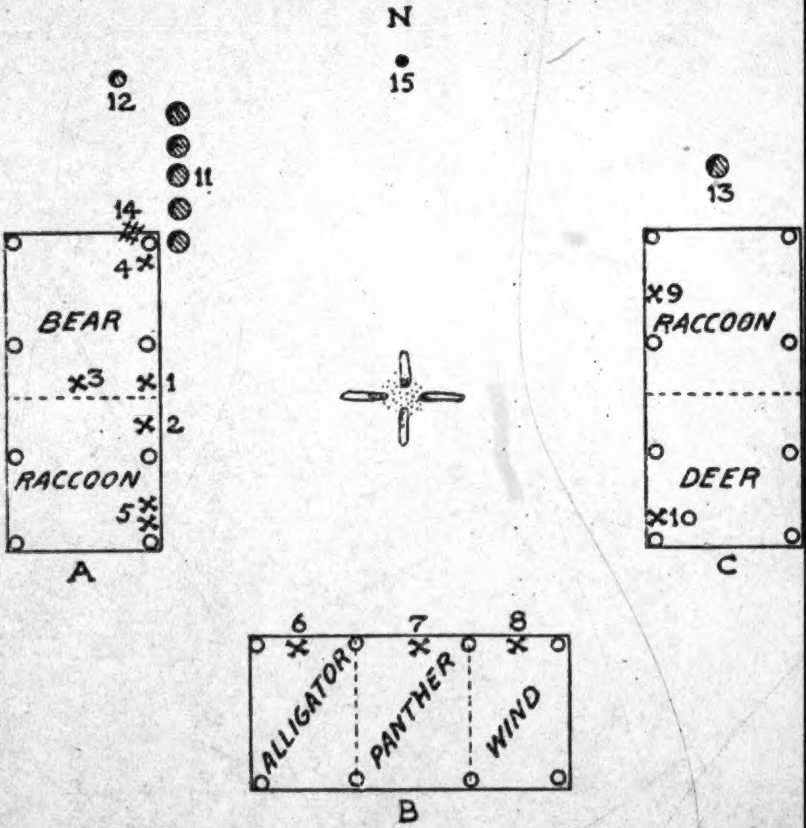

FIG. 1.—General arrangement of the square of Abihka.

A. Chiefs' Bed (mikàlgi or mikàgi intupa); 1, miko (Bear); 2, heniha (Raccoon); 3, hilis haya (Raccoon); 4, hilis tcàlaba; 5, yàhaikas (any clan).
B. Henihas' Bed (henihàlgi intupa): 6, asimbonaia (Alligator); 7, ta'pal (Panther); 8, ta'pala (Wind).
C. Warriors' Bed (tàstànàgàlgi intupa): 9, asimbonaia (Raccoon); 10, tutka didja (Deer).

11, medicine pots (1st position); 12, medicine pot for boys (2d position); 13, medicine pot for women (2d position); 14, place where medicines wer piled immediately after they were brought in; 15, ball post (pokàbi).
It is to be noted that, in all of these diagrams, the ball post was actually muc farther from the center of the square than is indicated.

were miko hoyanīdja ("red root"), pasa ("buttonsnake-root"), wilana ("wormseed"), and hobàga ("maypop"); tcato hàtk ("white stones") were added. After the ceremony was about over and the fasters were ready to go down to bathe in the creek, what was lef

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

of the medicine was poured on the fire. It is said that one gallon of spring water was brought for all five pots. This must mean a gallon for each. Following are the busk names of the present officers: 344 621 796

miko	Tcûktcât Henīha
henīha	Itchas Hadjo
hilis tcâlaba	Konip Yâhola
ta'pala	Katca Tâstânâgi
"	Kona Yâhola
tutka dīdja	Tâstânâkutci
asimbonaia	Wotko Fiksiko
"	Kapitca Hadjo

The Hathagâlgi of this town are Wind and Bear; the Tcilokogâlgi are Panther, Raccoon, Deer, Beaver, Alligator, and Bird.

My information regarding this ground was obtained mainly from Jim Star who described the Talladega ground to me in 1912, the plan of which is in the Forty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, page 205. The different aspect of the east cabin is mainly due to the fact that the earlier account gives a more ancient arrangement, when the warriors were graded into tâstânâgis, and big and little imałas. The position assigned to the hilis haya in the earlier plan is probably erroneous. The other differences are due mainly to the more extensive information obtained on my last trip. My new information disagrees with the older, however, in assigning the Bird, Beaver, and Alligator clans to the Tciloki side as was said to be the case at Abihka-in-the-West instead of to the White side as was given me for Talladega and the old Abihka town near Eufaula. It is probable that the new information is correct since the last mentioned square was given up when the man from whom I obtained data regarding it was a boy. However, it must be remembered that these allocations are not invariable and probably changed at times even within the same town.

OTCIAPOFA, OR HICKORY GROUND

Figure 2 shows the square ground of Otciapofa, popularly known as Hickory Ground.

The hilis tcâlaba was changed every four years and was not taken invariably from the same clan.

At the southernmost front post of the east cabin were fastened two poles with black feathers tied to the ends and at every other front post were three similar poles but with white feathers. These were carried by the men in the "feather dance."

344
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In the women's dance there is but one leader who carries a notched stick called atâsa, the old name of the war club, from the middle of which depends an eagle feather.

Besides the invariable miko hoyanīdja or "red root," the busk medicine contained tutka hiliswa ("fire medicine"), wīlana ("wormseed"), tutka-tcok-hissi (a place on the ground where wood has been burned and moss has sprung up), and hobâga ("maypop").

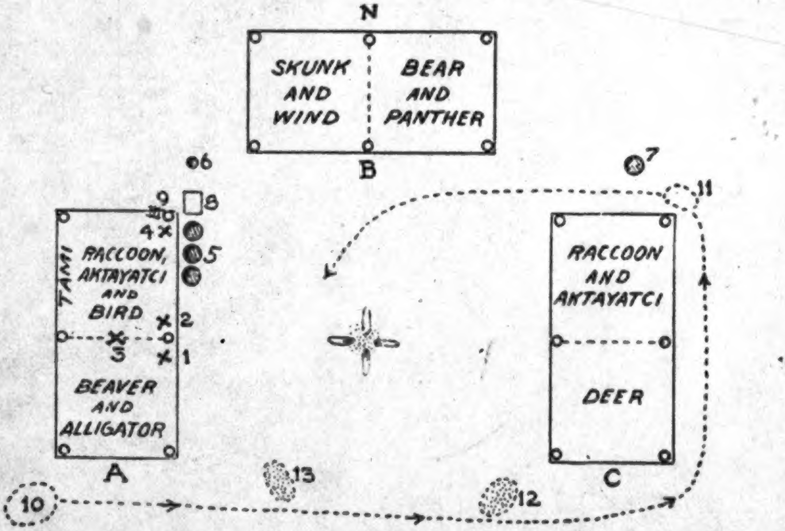

FIG. 2.—The square ground of Otciapofa, or Hickory Ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Beaver); 2, miko apokta (Beaver); 3, hilis haya (any clan; at present Wind); 4, hilis tcâlaba (changed every 4 years; now Beaver).
B. Henihas' Bed.
C. Warriors' Bed.

5, medicine pots (1st position); 6, medicine pot for boys (2d position); 7, medicine pot for woman (2d position); 8, log on which medicines were laid and macerated with a small wooden pounder; 9, place where medicines were kept; 10, point where women gathered preparatory to their dance; 11, point where women made a final stop before entering to dance; 12, where the ashes from the central fire were deposited every year; 13, sweepings from the square ground (tâdjo); 14, ball post.

As usual, the doctor perfected this medicine by blowing into it through a hollow reed. Two men took medicine at the same time, using gourd dippers. After all were through a dipperful was poured on the fire.

For a drum they use a stout jar and there are two coconut-shell rattles.

There is a line of tâdjo (sweepings) around the four cabins but it does not include the ball post. In playing the single pole game a

Muskogee

hit on the skull at the top counts five and a hit on the pole above 344 ●
a certain mark counts two when it is struck twice in succession. 621

The Hathagas consisted of the Beaver, Alligator, Bird, Bear, 796 Skunk, Wind, and Rabbit; the Tcilokis of the Raccoon, Deer, Panther, and Aktayatci. The Rabbit, Wind, and Skunk formed one phratry.

The information regarding this ground which I obtained in 1912 was particularly incomplete. It is therefore gratifying to find that there are no serious discrepancies between the plan based on that (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 211) and the present information. Some clans are given in one and omitted from the other, but where the same ones appear in both they have practically the same positions except for the Bear, which, according to the earlier description, sat in the west cabin and according to the later at the east end of the north cabin; and the Tâmi, which the former places at the west end of the north cabin and the latter at the back of the northern section of the west cabin. The location of the miko, miko apokta or henīha, and hilis haya is probably more exact in the later plan which also adds many more details. The informants differed somewhat regarding the Hathagas and Tcilokis, the earlier authority placing the Beaver among the Tciloki and the Panther among the Whites, allocations exactly reversed by my later informant.

LITTLE TULSA

Next we come to one of the two divisions into which the Tulsa have recently split, this being known as Little Tulsa (fig. 3). Plate 1, Figure 2, shows the old Tulsa ground in 1911 from the southeast, before the fission had occurred.

It is said that all of the offices are filled from particular clans. The following is a list of the present officers; exclusive of the miko and his henīha:

tâstânâgi łako	Ispani Tâstânâgi
tâstânâgi	Kapitca Tâstânâgi
“	Lata Miko (controls the two above)
ahaga haiyâlgi (“law makers”) (messengers for the tâstânâgis)	Kapitca Tâstânâgi (Aktayatci), and Tâmi Tâstânâgi (Tâmi)
simiabaia	Kântcati Miko (busk name) or Nokos Hadjo (common name)
hilis haya	Miko Tcâpko (Beaver)
hilis tcâlaba	Tâmi Yâhola (Tâmi)
tutka oktididja	Tâmâłâkutci (Tâmi)

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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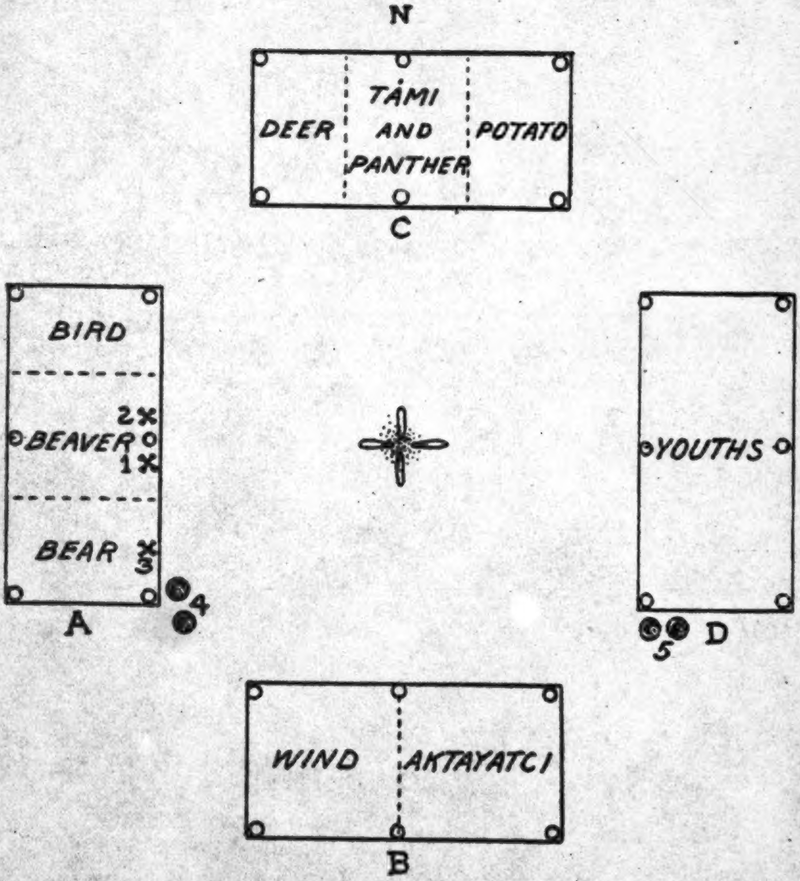
N
DEER
TÁMI AND PANTHER
POTATO
C
BIRD
2✕
BEAVER
1✕
BEAR
✕
3
A
4
YOUTHS
5
D
WIND
AKTAYATCI
B

FIG. 3.—Little Tulsa square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko; 2, heniha; 3, simiabaia.
B. Henihas' Bed.
C. Warriors' Bed.
D. Youths' Bed.

4, old location of medicine pots; 5, modern location of medicine pots.

ta'pala	Nokos Fiksiko (Bear)	344 ●
"	Tâmi Hâtkutci (Tâmi)	621
yâhaikas	Kapitca Fiksiko (Aktayatci), and Pin Hadjo (Tâmi)	796
Captain of the Light Horsemen	Yâhola Tcâpko (Tâmi)	
Light Horsemen	Oktcân Hadjo (Bear) Fûs Yâholutc (Beaver) Kapitcutci (Aktayatci)	

The ta'palas functioned at the women's dance, the yâhaikas sang at the women's dance and at the feather dance.

My original Tulsa data, published in the Forty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (p. 213), was obtained from an old man and was intended to reflect the most ancient arrangement he could remember. Since that time the Tulsa Indians who used to meet at the Little River ground have divided and maintain two distinct squares. The general agreement between the older and the later plan is therefore surprisingly close. The principal difference seems to be in the position given the Aktayatci who appear in the north bed in the earlier plan and in the south bed in the later one. The earlier plan may also be in error in the position given the medicine pots but this was subject to change from town to town and during the ceremony itself. The Eagle clan, which appears on the older plan, died out so long ago that it can barely be remembered by any living Creeks.

NUYAKA

The plan of this ground is given in Figure 4 and a view of it as it appeared some years ago in Plate 2, Figure 1.

The positions of hilis haya, hilis tcâlaba, and tutka dīdja were held for four years when the man and clan were changed so as to teach others the duties of these offices. The tâstânâgis and imałas had become confined to one or two clans. The hoktâgi immiko and his heniha controlled the women's dance and were called istatcagas. The term hola'ta was applied to a certain class at the square ground in some towns, sometimes to the Ṭcilokis, but its application here is not explained. The first ta'pala acted under the women's chief. He was taken from the Bear clan, or, failing that, from the following in order of preference: Wind, Raccoon, Tâmi.

In taking the medicines they drank of the miko hoyanīdja first and pasa second.

A rock was placed under the miko's seat "to make the seat heavy." Anciently there was a tcokofa northeast of the square. Nowadays the ground is hoed off only once a year.

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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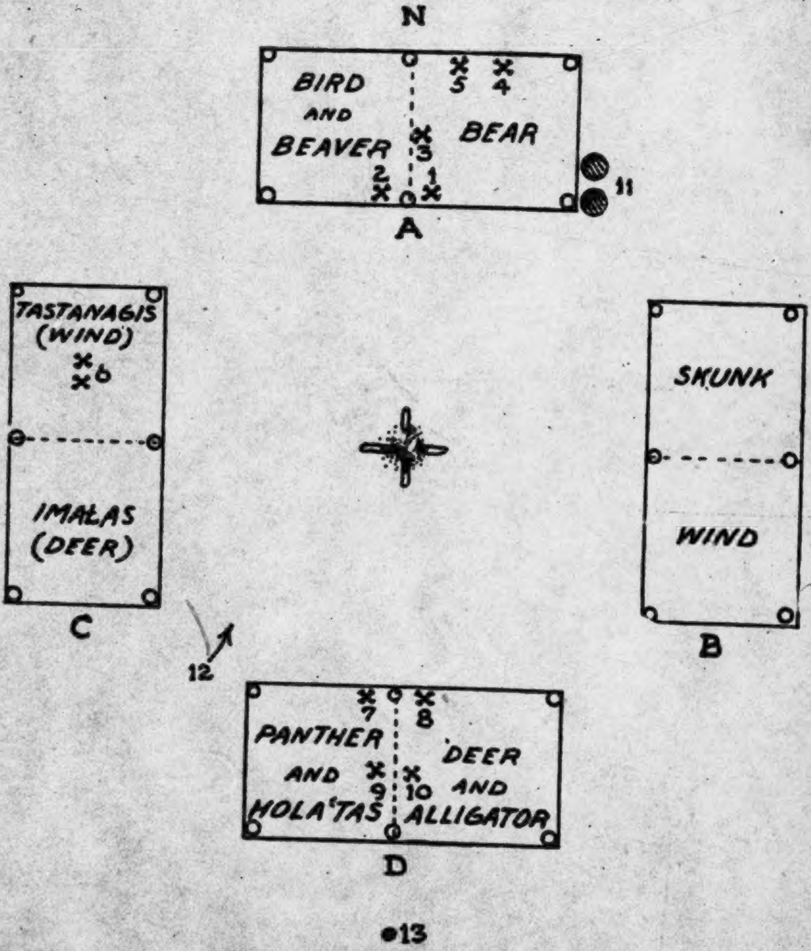
N
BIRD AND BEAVER
BEAR
5
4
3
2
1
11
A
TASTANAGIS (WIND)
6
IMAŁAS (DEER)
C
SKUNK
WIND
B
12
7
8
PANTHER AND HOLAʻTAS
DEER AND ALLIGATOR
9
10
D
•13

FIG. 4.—Nuyaka square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Bear); 2, henīha (usually Wind; Deer in 1929); 3. hilis haya (changed every 4 years; Turkey in 1929); 4, hilis tcâlaba (Alligator); 5, tutka didja (Raccoon).

B. Henīhas' Bed.

C. Warriors' Bed; 6, two tástânâgis (or law makers).

D. Tcilokis' Bed (Tcilokogâlgi intupa), or Tâsikaias' Bed (Tâsikaiâlgi intupa): 7, hoktâgi immiko (Aktayatci); 8, henīha for hoktâgi immiko (Alligator); 9, 1st taʻpala (Bear preferentially); 10, 2d taʻpala (Alligator).

11, medicine pots; 12, point at which women enter; 13, ball post.

In this town the Turkey and Alligator clans belong in one phratry and so do the Wind and Skunk. 344 ● 621 776

The present officers are as follows:

miko	Nokos Miko
henīha	Miko Tcàpko
hilis haya	Tàstànàkutci
tutka oktidīdja	Hotàlgi Hadjudji
hilis tcàlaba	Lōdja Yàhola
hoktàgi immiko	Wotko Yàhola

When the present Nuyaka data are compared with that which I obtained in 1912 for Nuyaka and the related towns Okfuskee, Abihkutci, Talmutcàsi, and Tcatoksofa, the agreement is found to be close except in the cases of the two last where the square grounds had long been given up and were described by individuals from memories of their early years. The main correction is in locating the miko, henīha, and hilis haya and the difference here is not great.

PAKAN TALLAHASSEE

Figure 5 gives the plan and Plate 2, Figure 2, and Plate 3, Figure 1, views of the ground, one showing the three cabins, or arbors, and the other the chunk yard and ball post.

The tutka oktidīdja, hilis tcàlaba, hilis haya, and oīdjawas, were appointed every four years from any clan. The ta'palas and hilis hoboia were appointed every four years from the same clan. The miko and asimbonaias held their positions for life.

Here we seem to meet some strange innovations. The Bears' section of the south cabin receives one name connected with war, tàsikaiàlgi intupa, and the section of the Birds, Beavers, and Alligators another, tàstànàgàlgi intupa, while, at the same time, they are White or Hathaga clans and their cabin is called hathagàlgi intupa. Yet one section of the west cabin is called tàstànàgàlgi intupa also, and the whole cabin receives the unusual name of làksàfàskàlgi intupa, "bed of the Blacks," the Blacks being evidently the clans elsewhere called tcilōkogàlgi.

The tcokofa was to the northwest and this was the last town to put up such a structure.

The Birds' section was called istatcagàgi intupa. The Deer and Pahosàlgi were formerly called the imalāgàlgi.

Three poles with white feathers attached were fastened to each of the front posts for use in the feather dance.

Back of the tàstànàgis' section of the west cabin was a little structure in which to inclose the medicine pots when they were not in use.

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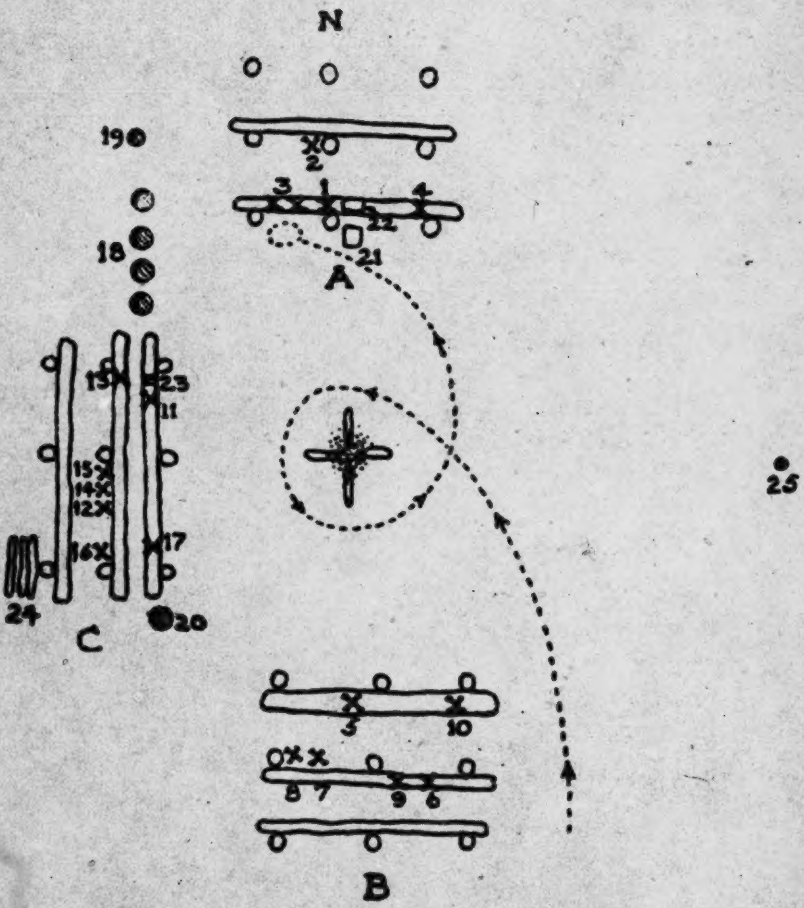

Fig. 5.—Square ground of Pakan Tallahassee.

A. Chiefs' Bed (mikálgi intupa): 1, miko (Bear); 2, hilis haya (Panther in 1929); 3, yáhaikas (singers for women); 4, dog whipper.

B. Whites' Bed (hathagálgi intupa): 5, asimbonaia (Bird); 6, ta'pala (Bear); 7, hilis hoboia (Bird); 8, oidjawa (Bird); 9, oidjawa (Bear); 10, dog whipper.

C. Blacks' Bed (laksáfáskálgi intupa): 11, asimbonaia (Deer); 12, ta'pala (Bird; father Raccoon); 13, hilis tcálaba (Deer in 1929); 14, tutka oktididja (Raccoon in 1929); 15, hilis hoboia (Raccoon in 1929); 16, oidjawa (Panther in 1929); 17, dog whipper.

18, medicine pots (1st position); 19, medicine pot for boys (2d position): 20, medicine pot for women (2d position); 21, drum; 22, box for tobacco; 23, place where medicine was laid before being used; 24, woodpile; 25, ball post. The dotted line marks the course pursued by the women when they entered to dance.

:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

In this town[4] the Hathagas were the Bird, Alligator, Beaver, Bear, Tàmi, and Wind. The Tcilokis were the Deer, Raccoon, Panther, and perhaps Aktayatci. The two moieties were anciently exogamous. 344 ● 621 796 526

The particular opponents of this town in regular ball games were the people of Atasi but they also played against Eufaula Hopai, Alabama, Hilibi, and Upper Eufaula. The Koasati Indians are said to have divided up in the ball games, some playing on each side.

The names of the present officers are:

miko	Nokos Miko ("Bear Miko") (Bird)
asimbonaia	Tàstànàk Imała (Deer)
"	Tàstànàk Hadjo (Bird)
hilis haya	Katcutci ("Little Panther") (Panther)
hilis tcàlaba	Nokos Hadjutci ("Little Bear Hadjo") (Deer)
oldjawàlgi	1. Fus Yàholotci ("Little Bird Yahola") (Bird)
	2. Hotàlgutci ("Little Wind") (Bear, father Wind)
	3. Halàk Hopai ("Potato Hopai") (Panther, father Raccoon, Raccoon and Potato belonging to the same phratry)
hilis hoboia	1. Itco Ilutci ("Little Deer Foot") (Raccoon, father Deer)
	2. Tàlsi Yàhola (Bird)
ta'pala	1. Halàk Yàhoła ("Potato Yahola") (Bird, father Raccoon)
"	2. Hotàlgi Hadjutci ("Little Wind Hadjo") (Bear, father Wind)
tutka oktidīdja	Itco-ili Imała ("Deer Foot Imała") (Raccoon, father Deer)
yàhaikas	1. Pahos Fiksiko (Raccoon, father Deer with which the Pahosa is affiliated)
"	2. Miko Yàhola (Bear)

If one town wished to play a match game with another, said my Pakan Tallahassee informant, they sent a man to that town with a ball stick, and when the people of town number two had reached an agreement they sent the ball stick back. My informant said that he then had a ball stick hanging up in his house which had been sent by the Alabama.

In the women's dance, the atàsa held by the leading woman is red and has an eagle feather attached to it; that of the second is white and has a feather of the fus hàtki ("white bird"), a bird found down by the creeks, attached to it. They used from 12 to 14 terrapin rattles. During the women's dance the two ta'palas stand about where the two pots nearest the west bed are in the plan. Each carries a wand called sī'dik-kika having a white feather fastened to the end. 344 621 796

The dog whippers used in this dance are taken from any clan.

[4][i.e., Pakan Tallahassee.--Analyst]

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About 54 men were present at the last preceding busk and 25 women and girls participated in the dance.

At the top of the pokábi in this town was a horse skull. In scoring for this game they draw a line from the ball post to the nearest corner of the south cabin. When the skull is struck, 4 are scored; when the pole under the skull is struck, it counts 2 on the way out and 1 on the way back. They may count it as a game, however, by agreement when they reach the corner post. The women's tallies are marked on one side of the line, the men's on the other.

There is little difference except in detail between the above plan of Pakan Tallahassee and the several I recorded in 1912.

WIOGUFKI

The plan of Wiogufki is given in Figure 6 and a view of the ground from the southwest in Plate 3, Figure 2.

There is a little log house on the grounds in which the pots are stored when not in use to keep them from being broken. There never was a north cabin so far as my informant knew. On the upper end of the ball post is a cow skull.

The women walk four times around the fire; then their leaders stop opposite the singers and they begin to dance.

The hilis tcálaba holds office for four years. In this town the place of the miko's henłha is taken by a tástánági. Indeed all of the tástánágis are considered the same as the henłhas. They are called "the people who are named" and are of the nature of lawmakers and assistants to the miko. The miko's tástánági is also the same thing as the yatika. There are no istatcagagis (retired leaders who acted as councillors), and no Creek town now has a holibonaia. There are five water boys picked at random. At the front posts of each cabin are four poles with feathers tied to the ends for use in the "feather dance."

The two leading women in the women's dance carry atása. The principal function of the ta'palas is to call the women up for their dance which they do four times. Each has a wand with a little white feather at the end. Their official positions do not end with the women's dance but continue to the end of the busk.

No medicine is now put on the firesticks but it was formerly done. The only medicine they use at the busk is the miko hoyanłdja, to which nothing is added.

The Hathagas and Tcilokis were the same as in Hilibi. They were exogamous, and if the exogamic law was violated the ears of the culprits were cut off.

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

The towns of Wakokai, Tukpafka, and Talahasutci were all one with this. In regular ball games they always played against Alabama. Comparison between the plan given above and the two obtained in 1912 shows considerable differences, but since one of the former

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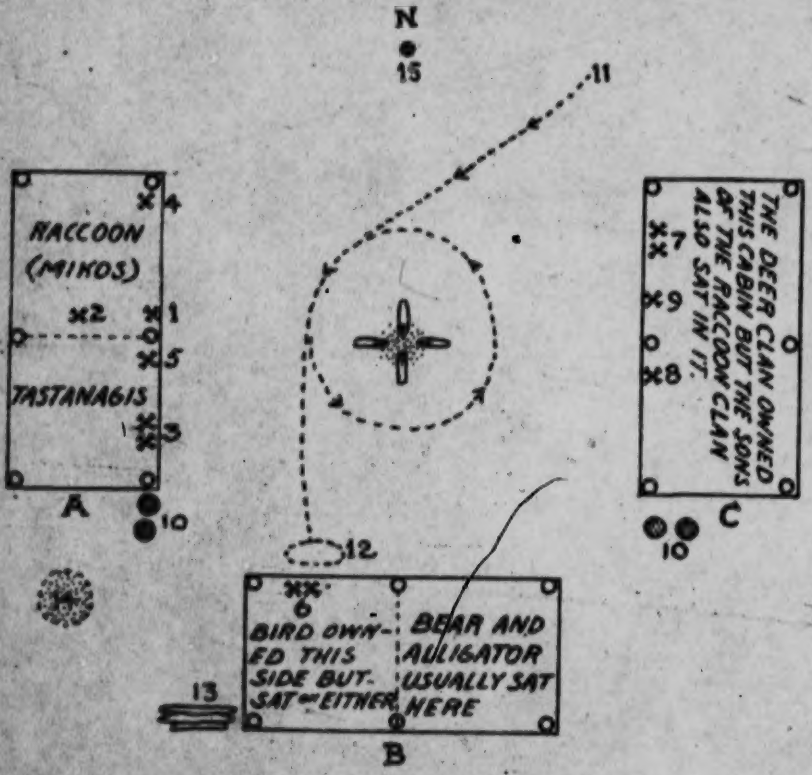
N
15
11
RACCOON (MIKOS)
4
2
1
5
TASTANAGIS
3
A
10
THE DEER CLAN OWNED THIS CABIN BUT THE SONS OF THE RACCOON CLAN ALSO SAT IN IT.
7
9
8
C
10
12
14
6
BIRD OWNED THIS SIDE BUT SAT EITHER
BEAR AND ALLIGATOR USUALLY SAT HERE
13
B

Fig. 6.—Square ground of Wiogufki.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Alligator); 2, hilis haya; 3, hilis tcálaba (Bear and Deer); 4, hilis hoboia (Panther); 5, a tástánági (instead of heniha) (Raccoon).

B. Whites' Bed: 6, yâhaikas (Deer).

C. Warriors' Bed: 7, ta'pala (Raccoon); 8, hilis hoboia (Deer); 9, tutka [illegible]lidja (Deer).

10, medicine pots (near bed A for men; near bed C for women and boys); 11, point where women enter to dance; 12, point where women begin dancing; 13, woodpile; 14, ashes of old fires; 15, ball post.

was obtained from the same man, I think the explanation lies in the smallness of the town and the weakness of many of the clans which has resulted in many changes within a comparatively short time. Nevertheless there is a general correspondence and the allocation of clans to the moieties also agrees except in the case of

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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the Panther clan. This is explained by the fact that the Panther was anciently considered a White clan and later came to be regarded as Tciloki.

OKCHAI

Figure 7 shows the arrangement of this square and Plate 4, Figure 1, shows a view of it taken in winter,

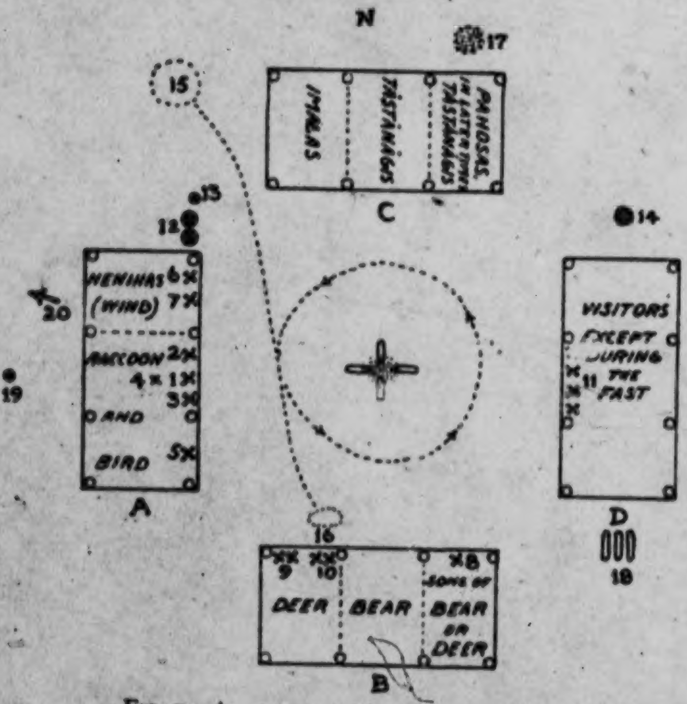

N
17
15
IMALAS
TASTANAGIS
PANOSAS, IN LATER TIMES TASTANAGIS
C
13
12
14
HENIHAS 6
(WIND) 7
20
RACCOON 2
4 1
3
AND
BIRD 5
A
VISITORS EXCEPT DURING THE FAST
11
19
19
D
16
9
10
8
DEER
BEAR
SONS OF BEAR OR DEER
18
B

FIG. 7.—Arrangement of square ground of Okchai.

A. Chiefs' Bed 1, miko (Raccoon formerly; Bear in 1929); 2, henlha (Deer); 3, yatika (Deer formerly; Wind in 1929); 4, hilis haya; 5, ta'pala (any clan); 6, hilis tcâlaba (Bird); 7, tutka oktidīdja (Wind).

B. Henihas' Bed: 8, ta'pala (any clan); 9, hilis hoboia; 10, yâhaikas (any clan).

C. Warriors' Bed.

D. Youths' Bed: 11, oidjawa (any clan).

12, medicine pots; 13, medicine pot for boys; 14, medicine pot for women; 15, point where women assemble preparatory to their dance; 16, point where women start dancing; 17, ashes of previous fires; 18, woodpile; 19, ball posts; 20, a spring lies in this direction.

The hilis tcâlaba, ta'pala, and tutka oktidīdja changed every four years. The hilis haya was reappointed every four years.

Wiley Buckner, an old informant of mine, was the former yatika. The tutka oktidīdja in 1929 was Hotálgi Miko.

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

344
621
796

The medicine was pounded up just in front of the pots at the north end of the chiefs' bed.

The fire was brought from Alabama in the great migration and new fire was lighted from it. They dug up the earth as deep as the arm would reach, put the fire in there, and made the new fire on top. This is the very spot at which they first placed their square in Oklahoma and it has not been moved. The squares of the kindred towns, Łȧłogȧlga and Ȧsilanabi, are not so old.

There were two poles with feathers on the ends at each of the front posts of the cabins all the way round.

Atása were borne by the two women who led in the women's dance.

The tȧstȧnȧgis were law makers. They had charge of the rules governing the taking of medicine and if anyone broke one of these regulations they made him stay in the square ground all night without eating instead of breaking his fast that evening as was usual.

In the various beds of this square ground the "sons of the clan" can sit with their fathers.

The Hathagas and Tcilokis were the same as at Hilibi.

Their principal opponents in the ball games years ago were the Hilibi.

This arrangement agrees substantially with that obtained by me in 1912 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 234), the principal difference being in the location of the Bear and Bird clans. My earlier informants placed the Bird and Aktayatci in the middle of the south cabin and the Bear at the east end of the same, while the later ones said nothing of the Aktayatci but placed the Bird clan in the southern section of the west cabin and the Bear clan in the center of the south cabin, the sons of the Bear being located next to them on the east. The arrangement of this square must be taken in connection with the plans of Łȧłogȧlga and Ȧsilanabi.

ŁAŁOGȦLGA, OR FISH POND

For a plan of this ground, see Figure 8.

The tutka oktidīdja is appointed every four years but always from the Aktayatci clan. The hilis hoboia are chosen every four years and ordinarily from the Aktayatci and Bear clans but this is not necessarily the case. However, if one dies before his four years have expired he is replaced by someone of his clan. The hilis hoboia also act as the hilis tcȧlaba.

Taʻpalas are appointed only when needed. There are no special water carriers, the hilis hoboia calling upon any boys for this purpose whenever water is required.

●344
621
796

The two leaders among the women carry atàsa, that held by the first being colored red, that by the second white.

One of the two medicine pots contains pasa; the other the miko hoyanīdja along with wīlana, tutka hiliswa ("fire medicine"), which grows in wet places in swamps and has red flowers, tcàto hàtkutci (four "little white rocks"), and tutka-tcok-hissi (green moss from an old fireplace).

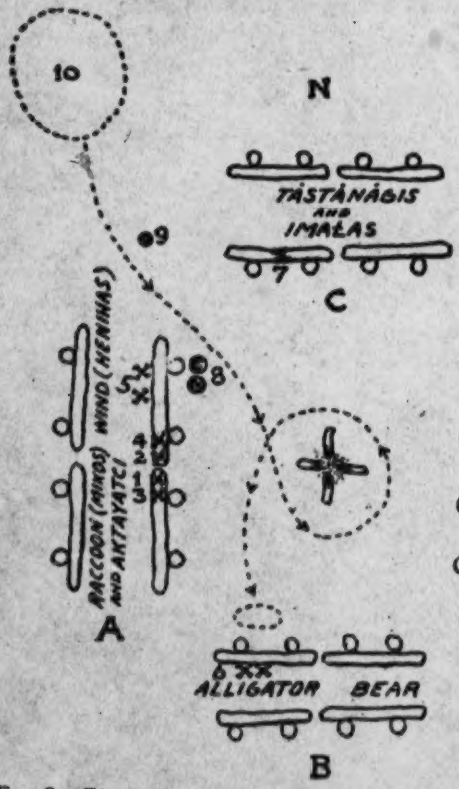

10
N
TÁSTÁNÁGIS AND IMAŁAS
9
7
C
WIND (HENIHAS)
5
8
4
2
1
3
RACCOON (MIKOS) AND AKTAYATCI
VISITORS AND BOYS
A
D
6 XX
ALLIGATOR
BEAR
B

FIG. 8.—The square ground of Łalogálga, or Fish Pond.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Raccoon); 2, heníha (or 2d chief) (Wind); 3, asimbonaia or yatika (head speaker, drawn from any clan); 4, hilis haya (any clan); 5, hilis hoboia.

B. Citizens' Bed (Tásikaiálgi intupa); 6, yâhaikas (no fixed clan).

C. Warriors' Bed: 7, tutka oktididja (Aktayatci).

8, medicine pots; 9, boys' medicine; 10, point where women assembled preparatory to the dance.

If one has eaten new roasting ears he is given a little pasa root to chew and then a little pasa in cold water of which he must take four drinks. Then he can take all of the medicines like the others.

344 ●
621
796

Some of the medicine is swallowed, the rest spit out. The doctor sees that the medicines are taken and fines those who neglect to do so.

There is a town policeman called istikonā'ha who carries out the orders of the miko against those who have refused to obey him, and collects fines from them. The incumbent in 1929 was Maxcy Alakotci. When I interviewed them they were using the tȧstȧnȧgi as the town miko.

The Hathagas are the Bear, Wind, Bird, and Alligator; the Tcilokis are the Raccoon, Aktayatci, Deer, and Potato.

The Aktayatci are said to have formed one phratry with the Raccoon.

In match games, they played against Tukabahchee, Atasi, Łapłȧko, Eufaula, Hilibi, and Kealedji. Alabama was formerly of the same fire but later drew away.

This year (1929) they did not use the pasa. The Ȧsilanabi square ground is arranged just like this one, but the Okchai differ from these two a little in the use of their medicines. It is thought that Ȧsilanabi is older than Łȧlogȧlga and that the latter branched off in order to get the extra money that was paid to its six representatives in the national assembly.

Except that there is more detail, the arrangement given here differs only slightly from that which I recorded in 1912 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 236). The only noteworthy divergence is in the position assigned to the Deer clan by my earlier informants, but this may be attributed to the fact that the miko apokta was then a Deer and his clan was probably brought over to the west cabin for that reason. As we should expect, the agreement is also close with the arrangement of the Ȧsilanabi ground though there are minor divergencies in the allocation of clans to the south cabin. All of my authorities agreed well in assigning clans to the two moieties, but the oldest of all of them thought that the Beaver and Alligator were probably Tcilȯki. This may have been the ancient arrangement.

TUKABAHCHEE

The plan of Tukabahchee square appears in Figure 9 and a view of it as it looked in 1912 is given in Plate 5, Figure 1.

The number of tȧstȧnȧgis is indeterminate. The toba mawīdine were officers not otherwise named who always remained in the cabins. There is one in each of the 12 beds except a part of the southeast cabin as indicated. They were selected from any clan, given names taken from the father's clan, and seated with the latter. Thus, if

• 344 621 796 a man were a Deer and his father a Raccoon, they would give him a name from the Raccoon clan's names and seat him with them. After being so seated these officers were not obliged to do any further work connected with the busk.

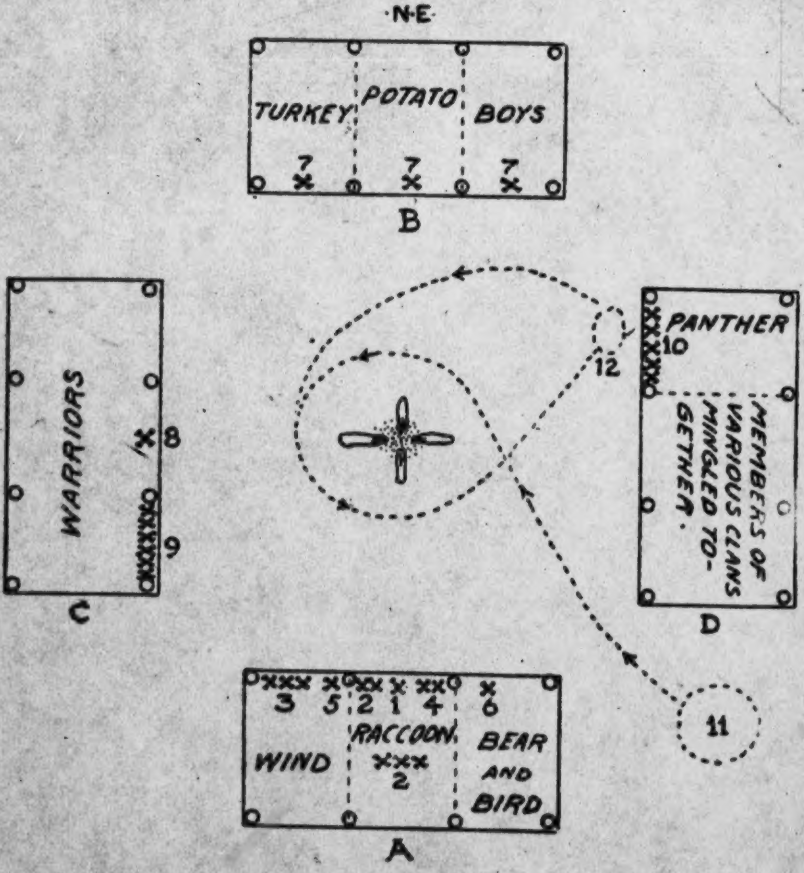

N·E
TURKEY
POTATO
BOYS
7
7
7
B
WARRIORS
8
9
C
PANTHER
10
12
MEMBERS OF VARIOUS CLANS MINGLED TO-GETHER.
D
3
5
2
1
4
6
RACCOON
WIND
2
BEAR AND BIRD
A
11

FIG. 9.—Tukabahchee square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Raccoon); 2, mikos (substitutes) (Raccoon); 3, henihas (Wind); 4, henihas and yatikas; 5, hilis haya; 6, ta'pala.
B. Potato Bed; sometimes also called Youths' Bed: 7, 7, 7, toba mawidine.
C. Warriors' Bed: 8, ta'pala; 9, tástánági łákálgi.
D. Youths' Bed (Tcibánágálgi intupa): 10, yáhaikas; 11, point where women assemble preparatory to the dance; 12 point where the women start dancing.

The istaṭcagagis, most of whom sat in the southeast bed, were like a jury, or like a committee, to settle matters of routine. They comprised both men and women. The admittance of women to this select group is something which I heard from no other informant.

Muskogee

344
621
716

A man was picked out of the bed of the henīhas to speak for others, *i. e.*, the yatikas were selected from the henīhas. None was used in the stomp dance. As payment for his services the yatika was given a deer hide and a ribbon. When he was wanted by the miko he was summoned four times, but he did not start until he had received the fourth call. He set a basket on the ground into which all of the tàsikaias threw bits of tobacco to be taken to the singers for the women as payment for their services.

The hołibonaia was a special speaker used in the ball game and in war. The term asimbonaia was about equivalent to that of yatika. He was a head man chosen from among the tàstànàgis for almost any purpose. He listened to any message which the miko wished to give out and then repeated it aloud.

There were two hilis tcàlaba who sat with their clans and were summoned whenever needed. One was a Raccoon and one a Bear.

There were two oktidīdja who sat with their clans or wherever they belonged until summoned to attend to the fire.

Four hilis hoboia, selected from any clans, were sent to gather the medicine.

All of the tàsikaias shared in getting water.

The famous Tukabahchee plates were taken out and cleaned four years in succession and then left covered for four years.

The feather dance was discontinued at Tukabahchee when my informant was a small boy.

The three leading women in the women's dance carry atàsa. The leading woman has an eagle feather on her atàsa, the second a white crane feather, and the other the feather of a third bird, perhaps a goose. They start one at a time and when the third moves all the rest follow. After they have walked round the fire four times they begin to dance and circle the fire again six times.

The Hathagas were Bird, Wind, Bear, and Beaver; the Tcilokis were Turkey, Alligator, Raccoon, Deer, Panther, and any others.

In olden times the moieties were exogamous. The Raccoon and Potato were then brothers, or rather half brothers, but intermarriage between them is now common. Even today, however, the Beaver and Bird will seldom intermarry. The Bird was the "uncle" of the Beaver and the Beaver the former's "nephew."

A man's children called his father's clan "fathers." One can say anything he wishes to, however disrespectful, about his own clan, but he must not speak against his father's clan or permit anyone else to.

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

● 344
621
796

The general arrangement is the same as that obtained from the father of my informant in 1911-12 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 244), but the stations here assigned to some of the individual officers are probably more nearly correct, particularly the locations of the mikos.

KEALEDJI

Figure 10 shows the Kealedji square.

The hoktági immiko, "women's chief," supervised the women's dance. There are now no regular water carriers. The imałas formerly sat in the north cabin, but now there are no officers so called. The beds are called by the names of the clans which occupy them. If the asimbonaia is wanted to deliver a speech, he is called over to the miko's seat for that purpose. For tástânágis the best men are chosen. The ta'palas are changed every four years. In former times they had a regular four days' busk, but now it lasts for but one day and there is no feather dance.

In the match games they played against Okchai, Wiogufki, and Tulsa.

The Hathagas are Wind, Bear, Panther, and Turkey; the Tcilokis are Raccoon, Deer, and Aktayatci. In ancient times these moieties were exogamous.

The names of the present officers are as follows:

miko	Kasihta Yâhola (Raccoon)
henīha	Henīha Imałutci (Wind)
miko apokta	Kayomulgi (Raccoon)
hoktági immiko	Wiwohka Yâhola (Raccoon)
henīha	Oīkas Hadjo (Wind)
asimbonaia	Kōsa Fiksiko (Bear)
ta'pala	Tâlmutcâs Hadjo (Bear)
“	Alak Hadjutci (Turkey)
hilis tcâlaba	Kân Tcati (Wind)
“ “	Itco Imała Fiksiko (Deer)
tutka oktidīdja	Ahali Imała
hilis hoboia	Tâłkōna Hadjo (Wind)
“ “	Hotálgi Fiksiko (Wind)
tástânági	Tâstânák Tcâpko
“	Tâstânákutci
“	Inheniha (= henīha)
“	Tâłkōna Hadjo

The plan of the revived square ground of the Kealedji agrees in all essentials with the one given me in 1912 from memory by a very old man, except that in recent times the Deer clan seems to have lost its importance or died out. It is interesting to find that old

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

344
621
796

and recent informants agree in assigning the Panther clan to the White moiety. They differ, however, regarding the position of the

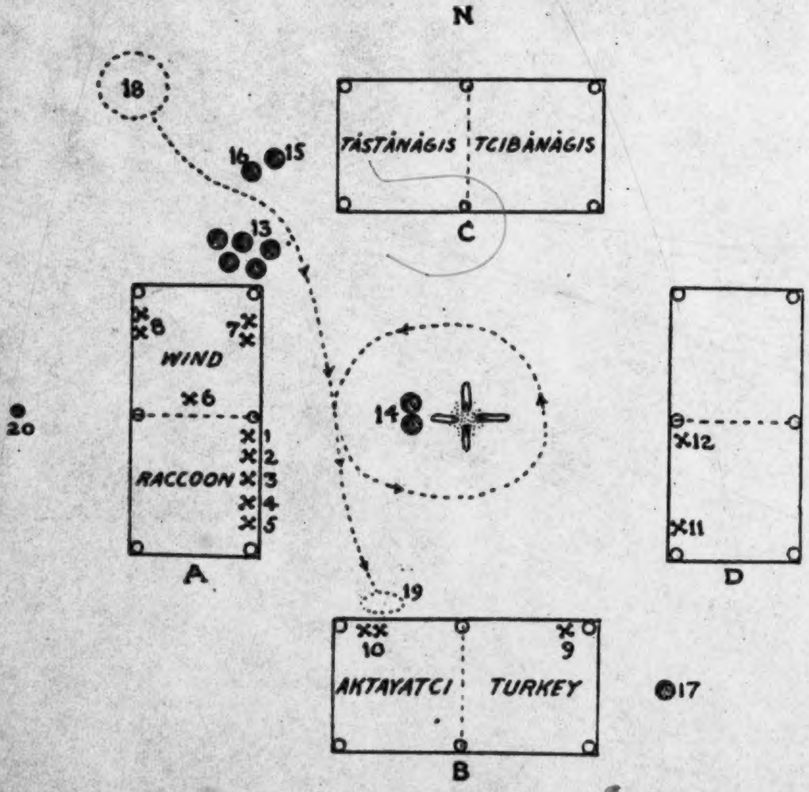


FIG. 10.—The Kealedji square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Raccoon); 2, heniha (Wind); 3, miko apokta (Raccoon); 4, hoktâgi immiko (Raccoon); 5, heniha (Wind); 6, hilis haya (usually Raccoon; Wind in 1929); 7, hilis tcâlaba (Deer and Wind); 8, hilis hoboia (Wind).
B. Youths' Bed: 9, ta'pala (Turkey); 10, yâhaikas.
C. Warriors' Bed.
D. White Bed: 11, asimbonaia (Bear); 12, ta'pala (Bear).

13, medicine pots (1st position); 14, medicine pots for those fasting (2d position); 15, medicine pot for boys (2d position); 16, medicine pot for girls (2d position); 17, medicine pot for women (2d position); 18, point where women assemble preparatory to the dance; 19, point where women start dancing; 20, ball post.

Turkey, which the earlier informant considered Tciloki and the later White. But this clan, together with the Alligator and Tâmi, is known to have been on one side in some towns and on the opposite in others.

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

344
621
796

ŁAPŁÀKO

Figure 11 shows the plan of this ground.

The two pots of medicine were prepared where they are shown (nos. 4 and 5) and remained there all of the time. The Bird clan sat anywhere. The yatika belonged to no regular clan, and at the present time there is no such officer. There are two hilis tcàlaba who occupy no special seats, and one hilis haya who is taken from any clan of a friendly town. Towns belonging to the other town moiety do not

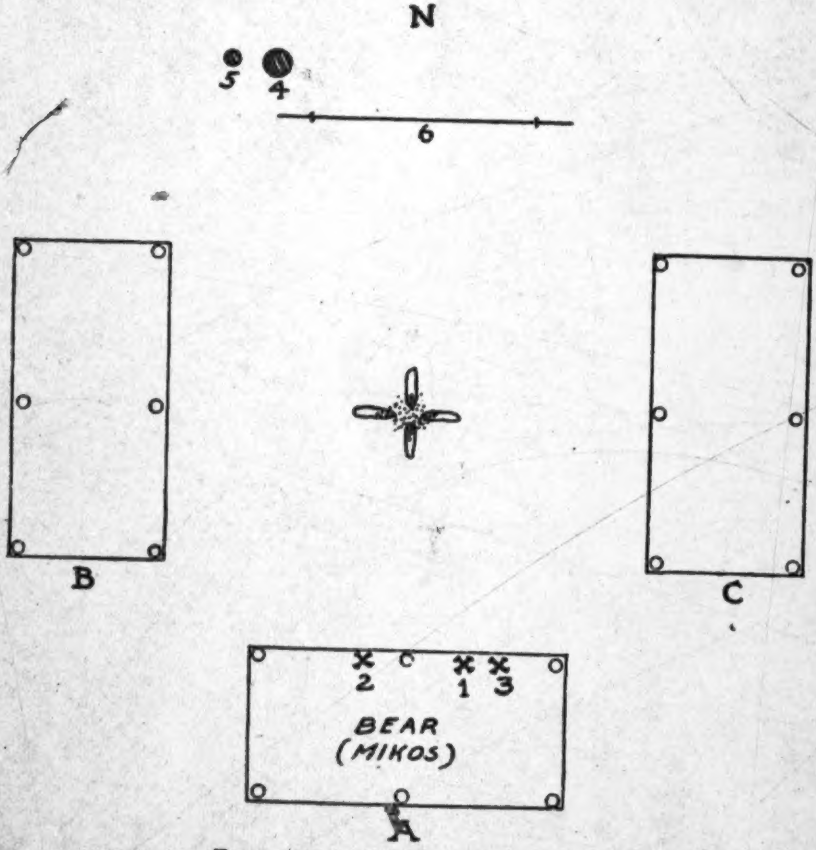


FIG. 11.—Square ground of Łapłàko.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Bear); 2, heñiha or miko apokta (Bird); 3, yatika (sometimes seated here).

B. Warriors' Bed. This was usually occupied by middle aged men of various clans.

C. Citizens' Bed (Tàsikaiàlgi intupa). Occupied by various classes, including persons not properly citizens of the town but taking medicine there, men married in the town or adopted into it, and men whose fathers belonged to it.

4, a large pot of medicine for the fasters; 5, a small pot of medicine for the women and children; 6, rack for ball sticks.

take medicine with them and in fact are not invited except in the case of individuals married into the town. 344 621 796

The Hathàgas are the Bear (the most important of them), Bird, Beaver, and Wind; the Tcilokis are the Raccoon, Deer, Potato, Aktayatci, Panther, Alligator, etc. Here the Alligator, Turkey, and Beaver can intermarry; in Eufaula they could not. But probably this means that the Beaver could intermarry with the other two, as the Alligator and Turkey were seldom allowed to marry under any circumstances. The Bird and Beaver were classed together in Łapłàko, but this group does not include the Bear or Wind. The Hathaga clans had the reputation of being progressive while the Tcilokis were full-bloods and reactionaries. This characterization probably followed the coming of the white people.

The towns of the opposite group were called Tàlipoła, which means " foreign but not unfriendly."

The word Łapłàko indicates a place where there are many marshes filled with canes. This town square, which had been discontinued, was revived in the year 1903 in this way. They had to prepare a ground in order to take medicine before a game with the Nuyaka Indians next year. Later this was improved with regular cabins, but it must have been inconspicuous or have been considered unimportant, as I heard nothing about it in 1912.

Łapłàko and Atasi are now nearly fused on account of the number of marriages between individuals belonging to them. Before the Civil War the Łapłàko had an Atasi Indian named Hotàlgi Hadjo married among them as their hilis haya. One of the great men of Łapłàko in former times was Jim Boy (Tàstànàgi Imała) whom my informant remembers to have seen. He thinks he died just before the Civil War broke out. McKenney and Hall (History of the Indian Tribes of North America, vol. 2, pp. 71-74) give a portrait of this chief and a considerable account of his life. He was born in what is now Alabama in 1793 and accompanied the warriors of his town during the Creek War of 1813-14, but was too young for active participation. In the war with the Seminole he was one of the leaders of the Creek contingent which aided the Americans. The exact date of his death seems to be unknown.

The arrangement of the modern ground? differs more from those described to me in 1912 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pp. 254 and 255) than any of the others. The first of the latter was obtained from a very old man who should have known the ancient arrangement well, but of course my interpreter and I may have misunderstood him. The cabins are at different points of the compass

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11

Muskogee

• 344 621 796 and more confusion is shown in the later organization, but they agree in stating that the miko belonged to the Bear clan and in placing that clan in the south cabin. My older informant allocated this clan with the Tciloki. This was probably an error on his part but he seemed to insist upon it.

They have had no busk since the Civil War and no women's dance, and the pasa is no longer used, only the miko hoyanīdja. The dances in the square are three stomp dances. Seven days before one of these the "broken days" are sent out and on the day when the sixth stick is thrown away they are all to be at the ground, while on the seventh they are supposed to be taking medicine. Seven days before the dance they also meet and pick out four clean young men, called hilis hoboia, men whose wives are not pregnant, who are not given to intoxicants, and who have not attended to the digging of a grave during the preceding month. These men gather four bundles of medicine (miko hoyanīdja) which they lay down with their tip ends toward the west. First they spread out a bed of leaves called lodja issi, "turtle leaves," which should be taken from hickory trees. The medicine is laid on top of these and more leaves are spread over it. On the morning of the fast day all of those who are to take medicine are supposed to present themselves at the square ground. The fire is built up so that it will not go out all day. Early in the morning the two hilis tcâlaba prepare the medicine, first the medicine for the women and children and then that for the adult men. This is taken four times during the day, the fourth time between one and two o'clock. Before they take the medicine the yatika announces, on behalf of the chief, that each of those intending to take it is to get a stick and throw it into a blanket. These sticks are counted and the yatika announces the number. Four times (or sometimes twice) during the day the men who are to take medicine with the exception of the officials (the mikálgi, yatika, hilis haya, and the two ta'pala) go out to get firewood so as to be ready for the dance that night. Four men are selected to keep watch of the fasters during the night, to see that no one sleeps or breaks his fast, or drinks or goes with a woman. That is why the numbers are taken. These four men are called istikonă'ha, "men taking away," because they take away the hat of anyone found sleeping (and treat similarly anyone who breaks the taboos in other ways). The hat they carry to the miko and, when the owner comes to get it, he is fined.

After they have taken medicine for the fourth time, they go to the creek for a bath and then return to the square. The yatika

344
621
796

talks to them telling them to take care of themselves all of that night, and then they scatter to the camps to eat. Before sundown, however, they are supposed to be back on the ground. The yatika calls to them four times and by the fourth time they are to be in their seats. When all are in their places, the two taʻpala are selected. The yatika makes a speech on behalf of the miko, calling upon his hearers not to act in an unfriendly way toward the outside friends who are about to be admitted to the dance, not to take liquor, to behave themselves all through the night, not to fight, and so on. This speech is addressed to the town people and outsiders alike. After it the fasters dance four times and then the visitors are admitted. That "kills the fast." All through the day the square is to be kept clean with the idea that the fasters will in consequence be clean. They go up to take the medicine two by two, and those who are ceremonially unclean take the medicine last. They dance until about daybreak. Then all belonging to the town go down to the branch and bathe, after which they return and sit in their respective beds. Then a collection may be taken to defray their expenses and they settle other matters. The night before, the chief of a friendly town may have announced a dance, and, if so, the announcement is now made and advice given as to how they are to help their friends. This advice is uttered by the yatika, speaking for the miko, and he then gives a general talk, advising his people not to use liquor, not to break the laws, and to be good citizens in every sense of the word. Then they disband for the year.

HILIBI

A plan of Hilibi square is shown in Figure 12 and a general view of the ground as it appeared in the winter of 1911-12 in Plate 5 Figure 2.

Two poles with white feathers attached were at each front post. These were used in the "feather dance" and were called "the path," because the path was to be white.

When there are visitors the owners of the east cabin move elsewhere in order to make room for them. When the south cabin is overcrowded, some of its occupants move into the east cabin. In this town the clans were always considerably mixed up in the beds. The taʻpalas can sit anywhere. The tutka oktidīdja does not have a particular seat on account of his official position. He is appointed every four years. The tutka dīdja, who starts the fire, is identical with the hilis haya.

344
621
796

If a man whose father is of the Aktayatci, the miko's clan, is given a busk name, he is brought to the mikos' bed and given a seat there.

The Hathagas are the Bear, Bird, Alligator, Beaver, Turkey, and Wind; the Tcilokis are the Panther, Potato, Deer, Aktayatci, and evidently the Raccoon. The Alligator and Bird are considered as practically one clan.

The two leaders in the women's dance carry atåsa.

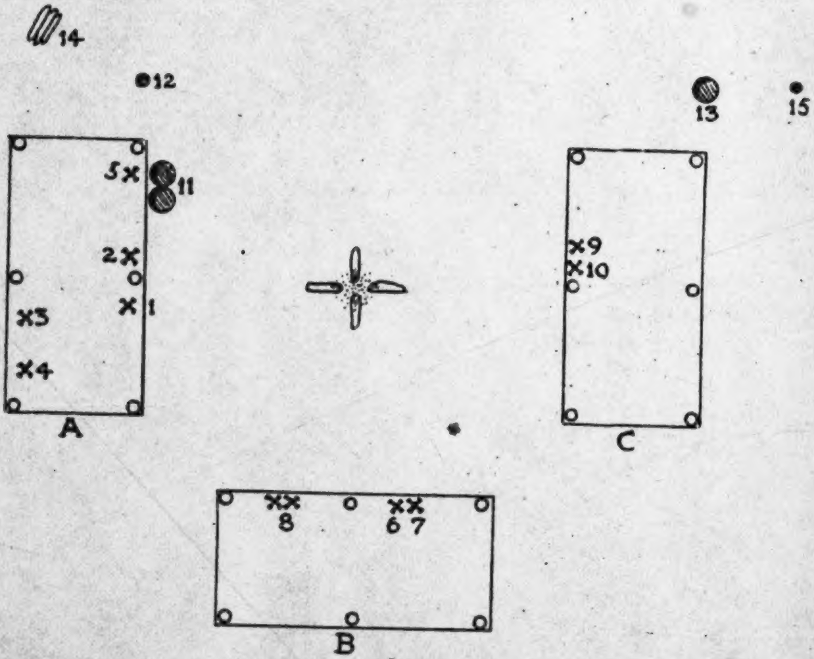


Fig. 12.—Square ground of Hilibi.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1 miko (Aktayatci); 2, heniha (Alligator); 3, hilis haya (Raccoon in 1929); 4, ta'pala (Bear); 5, hilis tcålaba (Bear in 1929).
B. Raccoons' Bed: 6, hilis hoboia; 7, tutka oktididja (Raccoon in 1929); 8, yåhaikas (any clan).
C. Cabin used by visitors:-9, ta'pala (Alligator); 10, hilis hoboia (Alligator).
11, medicine pots; 12, medicine pot for boys; 13, medicine pot for women; 14, woodpile; 15, ball post.

The history of this town is as follows. It was founded by a man of the Aktayatci clan who went off to live by himself and then put up a ball post. Many women belonged to his family and he had numerous visitors, some of whom married these women so that it soon grew into a large band of which he was probably the first miko. Anyhow that is the way the Aktayatci came to have the town. After stomp dances had been held there for some time, more visitors came

Muskogee
Alabama

344
621
796

to join them and it grew still larger. Because it was built up very rapidly, its founder called it Hilibi, which means " hurry " (hila'pkis, " I make haste "). Since it was an " illegal " band, a tàlwa fàtcasīgo (" town deviating from correctness "), all the clans do not have regular places, having been drawn from so many other bands.

The following notes on some personal names contained in the town roster give an interesting insight into the manner in which totemic names were bestowed:

Fos Hàtki Imała (" White Bird Imała "), so named because he belonged to a White clan, the Wind.

Halak Hopaie. He belonged to the Bear clan, but his father belonged to the Raccoon, hence the name Halak or Ahalak (" Potato "), since both these clans are Tciloki.

Pahos Fiksiko. He belonged to the Wind clan, but his father was a Deer and the Pahosa is of the same phratry as the Deer.

As shown by the native story above given this town was not supposed to be ancient or to have a firmly fixed town organization, and, while it was older than the Hilibi people themselves believed, it seems to have preserved the irregularities which might naturally be associated with a new town. Not improbably the tradition of irregularity preserved the fact. At the same time there is a general agreement between the plan here given and that which I obtained in 1912 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 258). The mikos' cabin is to the west, and the mikàlki and henihàlgi were of the same clans, Aktayatci and Alligator respectively. The Alligator and Turkey were classed as Whites from association with the Bird by my later informants, but the earlier ones gave them as Tciloki.

ALABAMA

This was a very simple square of exceptional arrangement as shown in Figure 13.

The Alabama were one of the incorporated tribes with a language distinct from Creek. The clan names in Alabama are: Mahaleha (Wind), Sawaha (Raccoon), Aktayatciha (Aktayatci), Hàtcuntcobaha (Alligator), Konoha (Skunk), Nitaha (Bear), Koīha (Panther), Fociha (Bird), Fitōha (Turkey), Ofàtaha (Beaver).

All of the officers were brought over to the chiefs' bed. Men of the Alligator, Bear, and Aktayatci have been mikos and a man of the Skunk clan was once the henīha. There is no regular rule for either position.

The Hathagas were the Wind, Bear, Panther, Skunk, and Raccoon; the Tcilokis were the Bird, Beaver, Turkey, Alligator, and Aktayatci. The Wildcat was the same as the Panther.

Alabama
Muskogee

344
621
796

One of the greatest Alabama Indians now remembered was Kȧntcati Yȧhola (Alabama name Tcīsōki), who was the hilis haya. He was born in Alabama and came west with his tribe. He lived until about 1866.

The above plan and the three others I obtained in 1912 and the years immediately following (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pp. 263-264) show considerable minor variations but all agree in locating the chiefs' bed in the east and the warriors' bed in the west. Most of them also place the Bear and Panther clans in the latter and the Wind, Aktayatci, and Deer in the former, where they are noted at all. In allocating the clans the above informant agrees with the older ones except regarding the Panther which the men first consulted asserted was Tciloki while it is here given as a White clan, but this is a clan which has been placed on both sides.

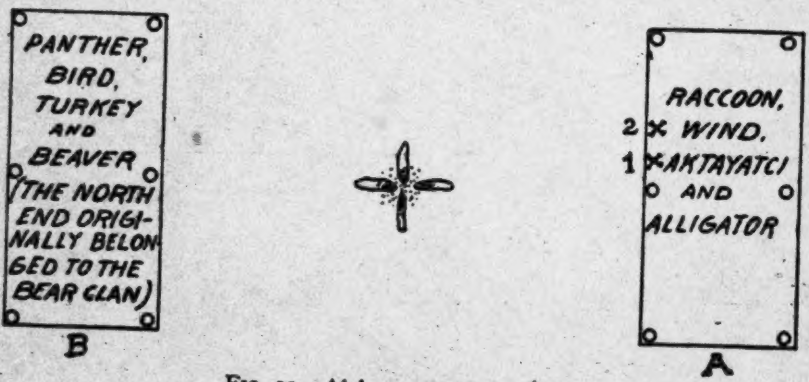

PANTHER, BIRD, TURKEY AND BEAVER (THE NORTH END ORIGINALLY BELONGED TO THE BEAR CLAN)
B
RACCOON,
2
WIND,
1
AKTAYATCI AND ALLIGATOR
A

Fig. 13.—Alabama square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Wind); 2, henīha (Raccoon).
B. Warriors' Bed.

KASIHTA

For the plan of Kashita square ground, see Figure 14.

There should be two hilis tcȧlaba, drawn from the Alligator clan, but they are not employed now. Four hilis hoboia for the pasa, four for the miko hoyanīdja, and one tutka oktidīdja are chosen by the miko without reference to clan. There is no definite body of water carriers. Two ta‘palas are selected from any clan to serve just for the night. They carry sticks called reels, and their function is to invite the dance leaders to lead dances and see that all take part. There is only one singer for the women's dance. He sits behind the miko.

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

344 ●
621
796

In 1901 the old square ground was given up and the new one was established in June, 1920. Because the new generation was weak one cabin was cut out. The Coweta square is said to have been the same as that of Kasihta.

Every time anything is brought in or anything repaired they dance all night because thus the two things are joined together, just as two days are united by the night on which they dance. Formerly dances were held every Saturday night, but hard times have put an end to them. The dance which was being held when I paid my visit was because they were then putting up a ball post.

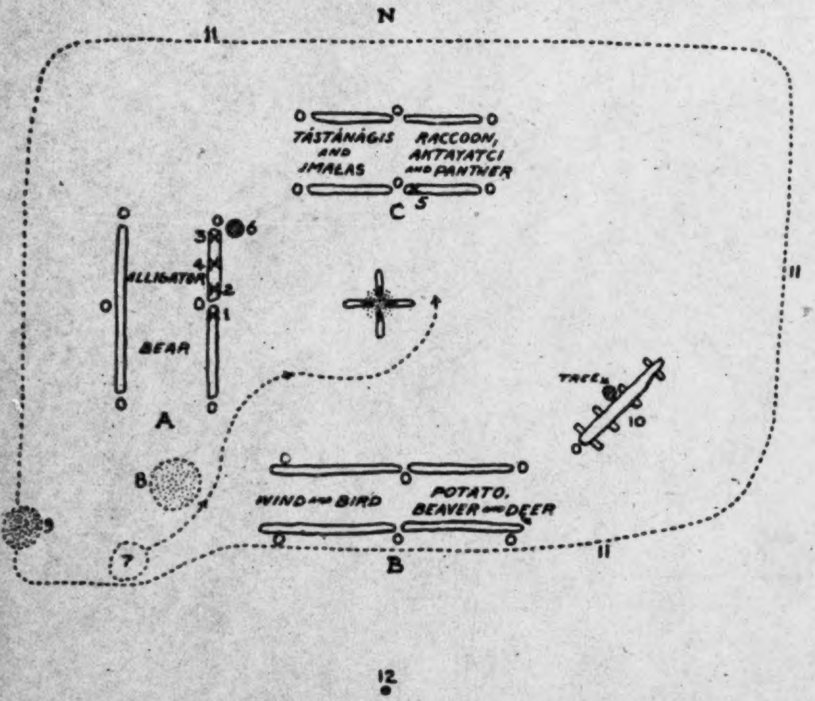


FIG. 14.—Kasihta square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Bear); 2, henīha (Alligator); 3, hilis haya (seat when on duty); 4, asimbonaia.
B. Whites' Bed (Henihálgi intupa), or "Cabin of the Greater Kings."
C. Warriors' Bed: 5, asimbonaia (Aktayatci).

6, medicine pot; 7, point where women assemble before dancing; 8, trash heap; 9, where ashes of old fires were placed; 10, split log where are seated those young men wbo have broken the rules and are in consequence placed here as a punishment before being allowed to mix with the rest of the people; 11, line of sweepings (tádjo) marking limit of square ground; 12, ball post.

The Hathagas are the Wind, Beaver, Bird, and Deer; the Tcilokis are the remaining clans, yet it is said that the Bear, Alligator, and

● 344 621 Wind were of the same "class." Under the present law they can all marry outside of third cousins.

796 The Kasihta defeated the Coweta three times in the ball game, the last time in 1878, and after that they took them under their jurisdiction and they have played on the same side.

Comparison of the plan of the new Kasihta with the plans of the earlier grounds secured by Gatschet and myself (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pp. 266-268) shows that the old order has been fairly well maintained allowing for the disappearance of some clans, particularly the Fish clan. Incidentally I wish to correct an erroneous statement in my report in which I misquoted Gatschet to the effect that the Kasihta miko belonged to the Alligator clan. While the Alligator clan occupied half of the chiefs' cabin, the miko himself has always been taken from the Bear and was stated to have been so by Gatschet. The allocation of clans to the moieties by my recent informants contains a number of difficulties, for they seem to have placed the Bear among the Tciloki, which is unlikely, especially as it was said to belong to the same "class" as the Alligator and Wind. My own earlier authorities also classed the Beaver and Deer as Tciloki.

177 173 The following information will be interesting to those who wish to study acculturation processes in intangibles. It was told me by the Indian considered best able to speak for the town,:

> The original four cabins represented the New Jerusalem with its 12 gates. The busk goes back to the time when Jacob set up the altar at Bethel and is traced from him and his 12 sons. All of the Indians in America entered in two migrations, one at the time of Jacob (1500-2000 B. C.) and the second 600 years later, at the time when Jerusalem was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. Then they talked face to face with the Great Spirit because they were more obedient to God than any other tribe, but about 700 years after the Messiah they got away from the original law on account of desire for riches. Then they lost the old law and asked for a new government, and by holding a ceremony in midsummer, in the month of July, it was given to them. That new law taught them to tell the truth and be honest with their fellowmen and to raise their children in such obedience, not to touch anything that did not belong to them, not to make a false statement. That is the law which we are trying to follow.

177 609 He added:

> We have a hard time because the white men have failed to fulfill their part of the agreement. They have strong laws that we can't begin to understand and our customs are about choked out through grafters who claim to have bought the claims of the allottees on which our squares are located. In order to hold their grounds several towns have to pay rent year after year. If the law makers would cooperate with us and give us full privileges we would raise more substantial, law-abiding young men and young women. That was the custom and the wish of our forefathers.

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

344

1. Abihka or Talladega square ground.

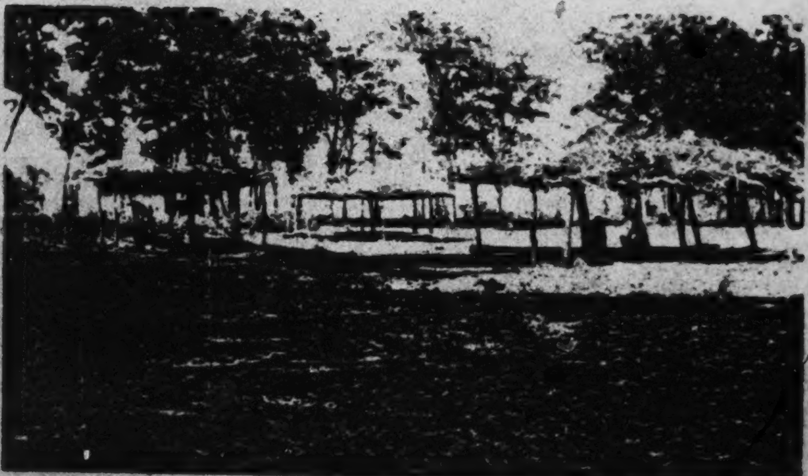
2. Tulsa square ground from the southeast.

[End plate 1]

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

• 344

1. Nuyaka square ground.

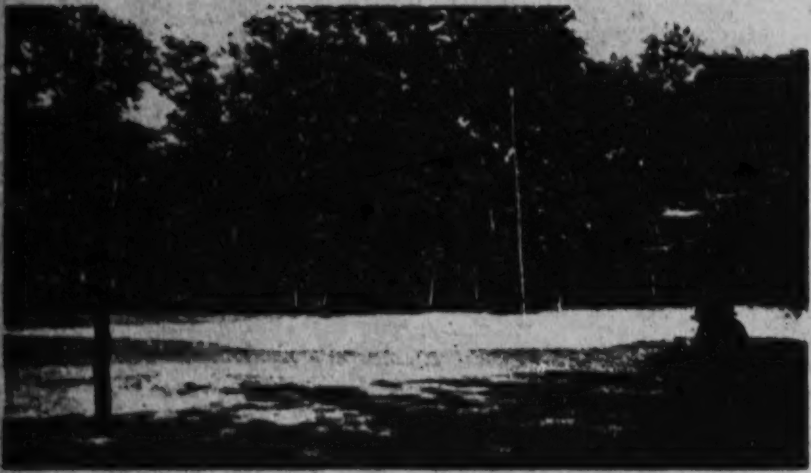


2. The three beds of Pakan Tallahassee, from the southwest.

[End plate 2]

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11

Muskogee



1. Pakan Tallahassee square ground looking between west and south beds, showing chunkey yard and ball post.

2. Wiogufki square ground from the southwest.

[End plate 3]

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

•344

1. Okchai square ground in winter from the southwest.

2. Fish Pond square ground.

[End plate 4]

Muskogee

344

1. Tukabahchee square ground.

2. Hilibi square ground in winter from the southwest.

[End plate 5]